Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-035
Thursday
23 February 1989

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FBIS-SOV-89-035 *23 February 1989*

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'Conceptual Differences' With U.S. Seen on Defense

PM2202155189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Semeyko's "second and final" article in series: "Toward New Strategic Stability"; for the first article in the series by L. Semeyko see page 4 of the 22 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text]

2. Confrontation Remains A Reality

The catastrophic consequences of the possible use of modern weapons—not only nuclear but even conventional weapons—hardly needs proof. Everyone is agreed on this. But how can a catastrophe be prevented? That is a question that prompts extremely varied answers, although the USSR and the United States manifest approaches that share some similarities. Both sides agree that there must at least be a radical reduction in nuclear arsenals. This process has already begun. They acknowledge the ever-increasing significance of transferring the stress from offensive to defensive arms and reorienting armed forces to defense as a type of military operation. There are also other points of contact. But analysis of the similarities also reveals the differing essence of particular strategic concepts.

"The Warsaw Pact advocates defense, and the U.S. defensive doctrine even extends to space. Why do you reject the U.S. approach to defense?" U.S. specialists ask. For their part, the proposal formulated in the document on military doctrine (Berlin, May 1987) to hold Warsaw Pact-NATO consultations "in order to ensure that the military concepts and doctrines of the military blocs and their participants are based on defensive principles" still holds good for the USSR and its allies.

As we can see, each side is proposing that the other conform to its concept. This is no coincidence. The point is that both sides have fundamentally differing approaches and the very substance of their defense concepts differs in terms of purpose, scale, and means of implementing defensive directives. The differences here are of a fundamental nature. The stress laid by the USSR and the Warsaw Pact on defense within the framework of their defensive military doctrines is all-embracing and extends not only to strategy but also to operational skill and tactics. Whereas before the defeat of an aggressor was conceived above all through offensive methods, now defense has come to the fore. "Soviet military doctrine regards defense as the main type of military operation for repulsing aggression"—the USSR defense minister underlined this most important thesis.

The U.S. FM100-5 field service regulations acknowledge the possibility of defensive actions; however, attack is considered the main, crucial type of military operation. Only the strategic echelon gives priority to defense—and then only verbally—through the deployment of space-based ABM defense systems, which could supposedly "operate" quite effectively in a nuclear missile war and at the same time step up the potential for "deterrence." But the combination of highly accurate strategic offensive and so-called "defensive" space-based combat systems cannot ultimately be defensive. This presupposes above all carrying out a strike first. Consequently, the U.S. stress on this kind of "defense" can only reinforce rather than reduce the threat of attack and undermine security. At the same time the transfer of the stress from offensive to defensive operations in the strategy of the USSR and its allies is designed to remove this threat.

The conceptual differences are reinforced by differences in practical measures. In connection with the implementation of the decisions adopted on reductions, Soviet divisions and the divisions of our allies are assuming an unequivocally defensive structure. The quantity of tanks is decreasing and the significance of defensive systems is increasing. The disposition of armed forces is also changing in a defensive way. Moreover this also applies to the "second echelon" strategic forces, which, according to NATO estimates, by moving forward from USSR territory are supposedly designed to develop the success of offensive troops and are thus "extremely dangerous." The nature of troop operational and combat training is also changing in our country—it is taking on a primarily defensive thrust for the first time, incidentally, in the history of the Soviet Armed Forces.

This cannot be said about the implementation of U.S. ideas of "strategic defense." Weapons that are not so much defensive as offensive predominate among the weapons systems being elaborated there. The militarization of space presupposes the creation of ultra-modern combat systems that would be capable of inflicting a strike from space on facilities in the atmosphere and on Earth. In addition, the deployment of ABM systems in space would provoke an offensive arms race by virtue of the linkage between defense and offensive systems; and the consequences of this are simply unpredictable.

Thus, "strategic defense" U.S.-style is negative both in the military context and in the broad foreign policy sphere. That is why the Soviet side issued the following warning with regard to the plans to deploy space-based strike arms—and the previous administration was elaborating such plans: We are counting on the fact that the new U.S. Administration will amend this position. Otherwise it will be a long time before we see a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms.

Nevertheless, the program for space-based ABM defense has not been repealed. It has already swallowed up more than $16 billion in 6 years, THE NEW YORK TIMES pointed out, for the development of fundamentally new ABM arms systems. "Various SDI technologies," the newspaper writes, "are now ready for the largest and most costly series of experiments in this program's

history." The Pentagon has not abandoned and is not considering abandoning a single one of its military-technical programs. Thus there is defense and defense.

The concept of an "air-land battle (engagement)" with its offensive thrust still holds good in the United States. It envisages carrying out powerful, highly accurate strikes, including nuclear and chemical strikes, to a depth of several hundred kilometers in order to split Warsaw Pact troop operational and strategic groupings from the very outset of hostilities and create favorable conditions for carrying out large-scale offensive operations. This is passed off as a means of defense ("hyperactive defense"—a U.S. four-star general admitted without irony in a recent conversation in Moscow). This concept by no means accords with the demands of strategic stability. Especially since there are plans to carry out such operations (engagements) primarily on the European Continent—something illustrated by the rehearsal of their individual elements during the numerous U.S.-NATO maneuvers and exercises that take place here.

Although the resolution of most complex problems by political means is bearing fruit, Warsaw Pact-NATO military confrontation is still a reality. Its present character must be considered soberly without exaggeration or underestimation. The West has still by no means given up its emphasis on force in international relations or its plans to build up its military might. There are plans to achieve a 40-percent increase in the potential of NATO surface troops through the implementation of long-term programs that envisage equipping NATO armed forces with new highly accurate conventional weapons complexes and also automated guidance, communications, and electronic warfare systems alone. The stress on the qualitative factor—exploiting the latest achievements of the military-technical revolution, moreover, at preferential rates—is especially marked in the United States. The U.S. concept of "competitive strategies" that provides for making maximum use of the strong points of Western technologies in elaborating and creating new arms is geared toward this.

One cannot fail to take this into account. Hence the need to turn our attention to the qualitative factor in our defense building. The decision of the 19th all-union party conference is unequivocal on this score: In order to provide guarantees of reliable security for the USSR and its allies "all defense building must henceforth be geared primarily to qualitative parameters—with regard to both equipment and military science and also the composition of the armed forces." There is no question here of gambling on any "qualitative arms race," as some people in the West claim, but of ensuring reasonable reliable sufficiency for defense.

We are in favor of reducing the role of the military aspect in Warsaw Pact-NATO confrontation and of strengthening strategic stability and international security. This must all be effected on the basis of strict reciprocity. The correct correlation of political and defensive measures is necessary to consolidate peace and prevent war. Understandably, attempts by bellicose Western circles to build relations with us "from a position of strength" will meet with the most resolute opposition.

U.S. Not Heeding Allies on Modernization

LD2002230289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Viktor Levin commentary]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, after returning to Washington from a tour of West European countries, stated in an interview to NBC that in the U.S. view, the question of modernizing tactical nuclear weapons should be resolved by 1995. Baker said that the United States understands just how acute this question is for the FRG, but it cannot share the FRG's view. Here is a Mayak commentary. Viktor Levin is at the microphone:

[Levin] Although this remark by Baker nods toward the FRG, in reality the United States does not intend to take into consideration the view of its important ally, which considers that the question of modernization of missiles should be resolved no earlier than 1991. It looks as if the United States is pressing its partners, and pressing with all its might. The position taken by Baker during the tour of West European NATO countries confirms, in my view, that the views circulating in Washington to the effect that the Cold War has not ended, reflect, today at least, the principle aim of the new U.S. Administration. Not only propagandist statements, but also practical actions, are being built on this.

In NATO circles they are talking most of all about the FRG's opposition to plans for modernizing tactical nuclear weapons. This can perhaps be justified, since the Federal Republic plays a key role in NATO. Its position lies in the fact that since the replacement of the present Lance missiles with more modern ones should take place no earlier than 1995, there is no need to hurry. In addition, the Bundestag elections lie ahead in 1990 and Chancellor Kohl does not in the least want to subject the position of his party to danger, taking into account the fact that the FRG public actively opposes plans for modernization. One should also bear in mind that the country's population is increasingly loudly expressing dissatisfaction over the excessive, in its view, activity of NATO military exercises on the FRG's territory. For example, it is very significant that the U.S. newspaper PHILADELPHIA ENQUIRER recently published an article under the indicative headline: "NATO Is Exhausting the Hospitality of West Germany."

However, during his tour of Western Europe, Baker could not but see that it is not just the FRG which is against these plans. At least half the NATO states are. Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Spain, Iceland, Norway, and Italy occupy clear positions against modernization, so to

talk about just the FRG's opposition is incorrect. Moreover, incidentally, if in the position of the FRG Government temporary pre-election considerations are to be seen, then other countries quite similarly state that the plans for modernization run counter to the policy of detente and may undermine prospects for success at forthcoming talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in all of Europe.

The conclusion suggests itself from Baker's interview to NBC that the secretary of state did not heed the calls of partners who are rejecting modernization. I get the impression that Washington is keeping to cold war postulates.

Future Icelandic 'Civilian' Airfield Questioned

PM2102083189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[M. Kostikov "International Notes": "Flanking Maneuver"]

[Text] Recent reports from Reykjavik demonstrate that the Pentagon and NATO are seeking to step up their military presence on Iceland's soil.

The issue concerns the construction on Iceland of a large new airfield which, when necessary, could assume the functions of the U.S. air base at Keflavik. Furthermore, the NATO leadership states that all the costs of building this air force "backup," estimated at $200 million, will be borne by the bloc itself. Only one thing is required of the Icelanders—the allocation of one part of the island's territory for the Pentagon's militarist needs. And the willingness to do that seems to exist although far from everyone shares it. In any event, as the RITZAUS agency reports, Iceland's Foreign Minister J.B. Hannibalsson considers this plan quite advantageous from the financial and economic viewpoint as well as the social viewpoint, bearing in mind the employment provision for the population.

At one time the Icelandic Government announced a categorical ban on the construction of new military facilities on the island's territory. To circumvent this obstacle to the further militarization of the island they are trying to use such devices as a personal letter from NATO Secretary General M. Woerner. His missive proposes that the airfield be regarded "as a civilian" facility—it can only be an air force base in time of war. U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker has also given an assurance that no military demands will be made on this airfield.

In offering the Icelanders these pseudo-arguments, the Pentagon and NATO are trying to achieve their goal by a circuitous route. Orthodox supporters of Atlantic solidarity in Iceland itself are also playing up to them. All this has caused stormy and unceasing arguments in Iceland's current center-left government. After all, the new so-called "civilian airfield," it seems, is just another link in the chain of modernizing the NATO war machine.

In recent years the U.S. Air Force base at Keflavik has been considerably modernized. It is a base for F-15 interceptor fighters, P-3 Orion reconnaissance aircraft, and AWAC's equipped planes. New radar stations have been built. The Pentagon's plan, publicized in the press at one time, provides for the transfer of nuclear depth charges to the island in the event of a "crisis situation."

In practice the U.S. base at Keflavik is already a forward base not only for aircraft but also for the control of U.S. nuclear-powered submarines with strategic weapons on board. Over 3,000 Pentagon military servicemen are stationed there. The idea of building a new "backup" airfield in the present situation when the Warsaw Pact countries are embarking on the unilateral reduction of their armed forces and military spending can only cause alarm, and not just to Icelanders.

Talyzin, Sychev Give News Conference on CEMA

CEMA Difficulties Acknowledged

LD2002203189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] At the USSR Foreign Ministry press center today there was a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists on the subject of CEMA's 40 years of results, searches, and prospects. Speaking there, Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said:

[Begin Talyzin recording] In those years, the CEMA countries have come a long way and it can be said with full justification that in this time enormous changes have taken place in the countries. In a word, the successes are indisputable but it would not be objective to say that CEMA is living and working without difficulties. We can see that the dynamics of our trade have declined recently. The model of cooperation which used to be at the level of interstate agreements and at the level of planning bodies has currently become obsolete, to put it plainly. This is understood by all the countries and in 1986 they agreed to sharply change the model of cooperation and to move on from the previous schemes, from trade cooperation to comprehensive cooperation in science and technology, to implement profound structural restructurings in CEMA, and to radically renew the mechanism of cooperation. [end recording]

Then CEMA secretary Comrade Sychev spoke at the news conference:

[Begin Sychev recording] The essence of the restructuring of our integrational mechanism is the formation of conditions for development of such progressive forms of cooperation as direct links between direct producers, as coordination links, as joint enterprises, and as an international organization. The restructuring of the mechanism of our multilateral cooperation is, in the final analysis, directed at creating conditions for eventually forming a united market of CEMA countries. The restructuring of the mechanism is also oriented toward our socialist community joining more actively in world economic links, toward expansion of cooperation with third countries and international economic organizations, and towards more active participation in solving problems of all mankind and regional problems. [end recording]

Hungary's Membership Discussed

LD2002144189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] According to the Soviet deputy premier, the possibility of Hungary leaving CEMA is absurd. Nikolay Talyzin was replying to journalists' questions at a news conference held on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of CEMA. In connection with the multiparty system, Talyzin said: It is Hungary's internal matter to decide on this; that is, it is for the parties themselves to decide on how to approach this problem.

The Soviet politician emphasized that he, personally, did not agree with the recent statement Academician Oleg Bogomolov made on Hungary. As is known, Oleg Bogomolov said that he would not consider it dangerous for the Soviet Union if a Swedish type of state system were to come into existence in Hungary.

Debate Process To 'Open Up'

PM2102141789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "CEMA: Results, Prospects"]

[Text] "CEMA 40 Years On: Results, Quests, Prospects"—that was the subject of a press conference organized by the USSR Council of Ministers Information Directorate held in Moscow 20 February.

Opening the meeting with Soviet and foreign journalists, N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR permanent representative to CEMA, stressed that in these 40 years the CEMA countries have covered a long road. Pooling efforts enabled the fraternal countries to rapidly and fully restore their war-ravaged economies, overcome backwardness, and carry out the technical reconstruction of their economies.

However, this does not mean that there are no problems in our joint work with fraternal countries. The dynamic of CEMA countries' commodity turnover has declined in the past few years. By no means full use is being made of the potential of production specialization and sharing. Nor does the structure of reciprocal exchanges correspond with contemporary conditions. In short, the need for change has become imminent in both the USSR's economy and that of a number of other countries and also in our cooperation. Restructuring cooperation within the CEMA framework began in accordance with the directives of the 1986 working meeting of leaders of the CEMA socialist countries' fraternal parties in Moscow on the basis of decisions adopted on this question at the 43d (extraordinary) and 44th CEMA sessions.

Radical economic and political reform in the USSR and also the transformations in the economic mechanisms of a number of countries are creating real preconditions for qualitative changes in the prevailing system of reciprocal ties.

The CPSU is devoting priority attention to developing relations with CEMA countries. Questions of galvanizing cooperation with fraternal states are constantly within the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's field of vision and are the subject of discussion at its sessions.

While carrying out extensive restructuring, the USSR still considers the development of relations with CEMA countries to be the leading avenue of its policy and foreign economic activity.

Naturally, both our country and other CEMA members have never regarded themselves as an isolated group. We have always endeavored and are endeavoring to develop the broadest business cooperation with various countries of the world.

From the very outset of CEMA's activity, V.V. Sychev, CEMA secretary, who spoke next, said, relations between the organization's member states have been based on the principles of respect for a country's sovereignty, mutual advantage, comradely mutual assistance, and consideration for the interests both of every participant individually and the community as a whole.

With regard to the prospects for CEMA's development, he pointed out that the collective concept for the international socialist division of labor for the period 1991-2005 adopted scarcely more than 1 year ago is of fundamental significance for broadening mutual cooperation, deepening economic integration, accelerating scientific and technical progress, and choosing clear guidelines for progressive transformations in the structure of production and reciprocal deliveries.

Many journalists were interested in the question of what benefit member countries derive from cooperation in CEMA and whether any country's interests are infringed to the advantage of any other. No one comes off the loser from economic collaboration within the CEMA framework, N.V. Talyzin said. If you are talking about the USSR, we obtain equipment, transport systems, freightcars, ships, equipment for the light and food industries, and consumer goods from CEMA countries. On the other hand, while sending a large quantity of raw materials to Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other CEMA countries, we obtain, in particular, footwear, outerwear, and other consumer goods.

The last—130th—session of the CEMA Executive Committee decided to open up the debating process on questions at sessions of CEMA organs; journalists will be admitted to these sessions.

Talks With EEC in 'Very Near Future'

PM2202115189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Report by Captain Second Rank V. Kocherov: "CEMA: Problems of Integration"]

[Text] A press conference devoted to problems of socialist economic integration was held 20 February at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center for Soviet and foreign journalists. N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the USSR's permanent CEMA representative, and CEMA Secretary V.V. Sychev took part in the press conference.

In his speech N.V. Talyzin noted that in the 40 years of CEMA's existence a large amount of experience of mutually advantageous cooperation has been accumulated which has exerted substantial influence on the development of all CEMA countries without exception. The volume of trade has increased 40 times and is now in excess of R200 billion. The USSR's share in trade turnover is 60 percent. There are also other successes, but during this time certain problems have also accumulated in CEMA's activity and have urgently demanded the renewal of the entire mechanism of cooperation. With skillful organization this process will produce the requisite effect.

V.V. Sychev stressed that the CEMA countries have embarked on the creation of a new technological model for the division of labor in which increasing importance will attach to direct ties between immediate producers and to joint ventures.

Answers were then given to questions from journalists.

Question: Will CEMA's cooperation be based on the further enlistment of resources from the fraternal countries for capital investments to construct projects in the USSR or to develop market relations and mechanisms?

Answer: The Soviet Union does not need resources. Take the following example: Today all countries have an equal need for titanium dioxide—the raw material for the production of high-quality paints. We have large stocks of it. The volume of extraction is sufficient for our own needs. If any country is in need of this raw material, we are prepared to invite it to take part in joint extraction.

As regards the market, there is no doubt that market relations will develop, but in sensible combination with the planned bases of our economy's development.

Question: What is the state of relations between CEMA and the EEC?

Answer: Last year a joint declaration on the establishment of CEMA-EEC relations was signed in Luxembourg. CEMA suggested cooperation in the following fields: the ecology, power, transport, science and technology, standardization, statistics, and joint economic and scientific and technical forecasting. Another round of talks between CEMA and EEC experts will be held in the very near future and will discuss measures to implement plans for our joint cooperation.

Latin America Contacts Increasing

LD2002132988 Moscow TASS in English 1257 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—The Soviet Union, as before, regards the development of relations with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) countries as a priority direction of its policy and foreign economic activities, said Nikolay Talyzin, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR's permanent representative in CMEA.

At the same time, he pointed out here today speaking at a news conference organised by the Information Department of the USSR Council of Ministers, our country and other CMEA members have never considered themselves a closed alignment.

"We have always striven and continue to strive to develop the broadest business cooperation with various countries and actively participate in international economic relations".

Vyacheslav Sychev, CMEA secretary, who took part in the news conference, said the collective concept of internatonal socialist divison of labour between CMEA member-countries, adopted slightly more than a year ago, was of fundamental importance for giving greater scope to mutual cooperation, for deepening economic integration, accelerating scientific and technological progress, and choosing clear-cut guidelines for progressive transformations in the pattern of production and reciprocal deliveries.

The new approach to cooperation within the CMEA framework and the reorganization of the integration mechanism is also oriented towards active involvement of the socialist community in world relations and towards expansion of cooperation with third countries and international economic organisations, and more active participation in the solution of universal human and regional problems, Sychev emphasised.

In answer to journalists' questions, he pointed out good prospects for CMEA-EEC relations which are being built first of all on the basis of mutual benefit and fit into the concept of 'a common European home'.

Experts of the two organisations are to hold a new round of meetings in April to consider possibilities for concrete forms of cooperation.

CMEA's contacts with the Latin American Economic System (SELA) develop increasingly as well. There are great reserves in this respect and the two sides optimistically regard prospects for tapping them, Sychev pointed out.

Talyzin was asked whether the interests of any country are infringed within the framework of cooperation in CMEA.

There are no losers as a result of such cooperation, he said. Moreover, in present-day conditions it is difficult even to imagine that the economy of any country could develop in an uttely autonomous way without being closely interconnected with the economies of other countries.

'Current Information Group' Meets 21-22 Feb

LD2202230589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A regular meeting of the multilateral current information group comprising representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states was held in Bucharest 21-22 February. There was an exchange of views and reports on international issues at the session, particularly on East-West relations, the settlement of conflict situations in the world, current events in international life, and the foreign political activity of allied countries.

Trade Minister Attends Commercial Meeting in Cuba

LD2002133389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0710 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Havana, 20 Feb—TASS correspondent Andrey Borodin reports:

A meeting of leaders of the foreign trade ministries of the socialist countries has ended in the Palace of Congresses in the Cuban capital. Taking part in it were ministers from the CEMA member states, including K.Z. Terekh, USSR minister of trade, and representatives from Angola, Laos, and Nicaragua.

The ministers analyzed ways of improving supplies to the population and also discussed problems pertaining to the further development of trade turnover operations. Participants in the meeting paid great attention to matters of economic integration and implementation of the decisions of the 44th CEMA session on accelerating scientific and technological progress in the realm of production of consumer goods and improving their quality.

As K.Z. Terekh told the TASS correspondent in an interview, participants in the Havana meeting noted the importance of economic incentives in the process of introducing as quickly as possible progressive forms and methods of providing a service to customers.

Touching on the Soviet-Cuban protocol on trade cooperation that was signed during the meeting, the minister noted that in the course of 1989 the volume of exchange of consumer goods would reach five million transferable

rubles in comparison with 400,000 last year. The establishment of direct contacts between Cuban trade enterprises and department stores in Minsk, Vilnius, Tallinn, Leningrad, Yerevan, and other towns is envisaged.

The Soviet Union supplies Cuba with consumer and industrial goods and receives Cuban garments and knitted goods, fresh and preserved fruits, coffee and other goods worth an equivalent sum. In the current year the national restaurants—Soviet in Havana and Cuban in the Soviet capital—will improve considerably, the minister said.

The results of the forum clearly demonstrate, he stressed, that a process of restructuring of the economic machinery aimed at fully satisfying the demand of the population for goods and services is under way.

Western Reaction to Afghan Pullout Viewed
PM1702181989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Yevg. Bay and G. Charodeyev report under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Afghanistan: New Realism and Old Dogmas"]

[Excerpts] Speaking in the House of Commons, British Prime Minister M. Thatcher stated that the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan can be seen as the start of a period of "new realism" on the part of the Soviet leadership.

Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has expressed gratitude to the Soviet leadership in connection with the troop withdrawal decision. The completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan is a truly historic moment for that country's people and for peace-loving peoples worldwide, Pakistani Prime Minister B. Bhutto said in her statement.

FRG Chancellor H. Kohl welcomed the withdrawal of the Soviet troop contingent from Afghanistan. In a published statement he called on all sides involved in the conflict to show a "sense of responsibility and a sensible and balanced approach."

The consistent and strict observance of the accords by all sides would ensure the speediest settlement of the Afghan problem. This was noted in a statement from the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries.

The Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries resolutely demands an end to interference in Afghan internal affairs and a reliable barrier under international control to arms shipments to that country.

Speaking at a Moscow briefing, Yu.A. Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, noted that a healthy approach and the recognition of the historic scale of the Soviet troop withdrawal prevails in the assessment by politicians.

Against this background a clearly discordant note was struck by a statement by British Foreign Secretary G. Howe during a BBC interview. He interpreted the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan as Soviet recognition of the fact that Soviet military aid to Afghanistan was allegedly a "catastrophe which should be ended as quickly as possible." G. Howe talked about the "bloody and indefinite future" for this country and to all intents and purposes called for the overthrow of the Afghan Government, with which London has official relations.

This statement by a British minister, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed, cannot fail to generate concern. We are convinced that the requirement now is restraint and support for the process of intra-Afgnan reconciliation in the context of an immediate end to any external interference.

At a White House news conference U.S. President G. Bush also welcomed the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal. At the same time, REUTER reports, he refused to accept a Soviet proposal to end arms shipments to Afghanistan.

President Bush rejected the Soviet appeal for Washington and Moscow to impose an embargo on arms shipments to the two warring sides, explaining this by saying that the Kremlin had left the Kabul government an enormous quantity of weapons, REUTER reports. It would be illogical, the President stated, to leave the government with an enormous weapons arsenal and cut off aid to the opposition, thereby leaving behind an unacceptable imbalance.

What is the way out of the situation? Continuing to send the insurgents missiles to shell civilian populations, or Stinger surface-to-air missiles to down civil airliners?

UPI reports that seven people were killed 16 February as a result of the latest shelling of Kabul. Four of them, REUTER reports, were children killed by a shell in the western part of Kabul—the Khayr-Khan area—while three were adults burned to death by the bombing of a minibus.

Speaking at the news conference, U.S. President G. Bush stated: "The Soviet Union should not fear a nonaligned independent Afghanistan," REUTER reports. But it is precisely such an Afghanistan—nonaligned, independent, demilitarized, and neutral—that the USSR advocates. The withdrawal of all our troops was a most important step in achieving that goal. The next step is to end the senseless fighting between warring groups and to impose an embargo on arms shipments to both sides. This, in our view, would be new realism in international policy. [passage omitted]

Afghan Vice President Abdurrahim Hatif, speaking at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center, noted that the Afghan capital is surrounded by approximately 15,000 insurgents. The armed opposition is considerably more mobile than government troops. Its armed detachments attack a region and then quickly leave. Consequently, it is difficult to gauge the enemy's overall strength. However, the opposition forces, he said, are considerably fewer [znachitelno ustupayut] than the republic's armed forces.

Answering an IZVESTIYA correspondent's question about the refugee position, Abdurrahim Hatif said that the intransigents claim that 90 percent of the country's territory is under their control. One therefore wonders

why refugees are not returning home. To all intents and purposes they are being prevented from returning home by the Pakistani and Iranian authorities and by the armed opposition itself.

Appeal on POW's Made to Pakistani, U.S. Leaders

LD2202163789 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—The following open letter from prominent representatives of world culture and public figures to Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and U.S. President George Bush was published here today:

"We appeal to your sense of compassion and humanism, pinning our hopes on your vast opportunities and influence.

"More than 300 Soviet soldiers are still reported missing in Afghanistan. There is no reliable information on their fate.

"Probably, some of them are no longer alive. But as far as we know, many have been prisoners of different Afghan groups for several years. Their plight is truly tragic.

"Those who have escaped from captivity say that prisoners continue to die of torture and disease, while some commit suicide, unable to endure such an ordeal.

"The plight of the parents of those missing is also tragic. They have been waiting for their sons for years, suffering from the awareness that the chances to see them alive are becoming slimmer with every passing day.

"But no matter how scarce the hope might be, no mother will cease waiting for her child. Hundreds of letters convey their prayer: 'I believe that my son is alive. Please, help save him!'

"Ease the pain of mothers! Use all your influence to make public the names of those Soviet prisoners who are already dead and those who are still alive.

"Please, help alleviate the suffering of the prisoners! Do all you can to prevent disease and violence from cutting the thin thread which still links them with the outer world. Help bring Soviet POW's home!

"We believe in your rich political experience and humanism. As the ancient said, who said [as received]: 'He who saves only one soul, will save the world'."

The letter was signed by writer Jorge Amado and architect Oscar Niemeyer of Brazil, public figure Aruna Asaf Ali, poetess Amrita Pritam and film director Mrinal Sen of India, writer Alberto Moravia of Italy, poet Luis Vidales of Colombia, chairman of the Polish Secular Catholic Society Zenon Komender and Professor Bogdan Suchodolskiy of Poland, Professor Leon Schwartzenberg, an expert on cancer, and volcanologist and former Minister Garun Gazieff of France, writer Siegfried Lenz and professor Horst Eberhard Richter, doctor of medicine and philosophy, chairman of the FRG affiliate of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War and member of the board of the International Foundation for the Survival and Development of Humanity, of West Germany, Jen Takman, doctor of medicine and a former MP, of Sweden, public figure Akira Iwai, film director Kaneto Shindo, rector of Tokai University Shiegeyoshi Matsumae, writer Ayako Ishigaki and Hitotsubashi University honourary professor Kazuo Nonomura of Japan, and Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, a vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, eye surgeon Svyatoslav Fedorov, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, poet Yevgeniy Yevtushenko and film director Grigoriy Chukhray of the Soviet Union.

'Roundtable' on Afghanistan, Middle East, Cambodia

LD1902234789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 19 Feb 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Boris Andrianov, foreign political commentator for All-Union Radio; Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, ZA RUBEZHOM editorial collegium member; and Vadim Borisovich Kassis, GOLOS RODINY and OTCHIZNA editor in chief]

[Text] [Andrianov] Hello, Comrades! Taking part in today's roundtable meeting are Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the editorial collegium of the ZA RUBEZHOM weekly, and Vadim Borisovich Kassis, editor in chief of GOLOS RODINY newspaper and OTCHIZNA magazine. An event took place this week which became the focus of attention of the entire world public. Acting strictly in accordance with the Geneva accords, through its own goodwill, and in coordination with the Afghan leadership, 4 days ago the Soviet Union completed the withdrawal from Afghanistan of its limited military contingent. Now there is not a single Soviet soldier in that country.

[Volskiy] Yes, the Soviet country, the command, and the personnel of sub-units and units did everything within their power to fulfill the Geneva accords precisely and punctually. It is true that on first glance the actual operation to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan may appear unremarkable. In reality, however, it was a pretty difficult military task, and not only tactically so. It demanded a high level of discipline and organization, and in individual cases, it demanded a display of steadfastness and boldness because the extremists were continuing their raids and shelling and our boys had to hand over military camps to the Afghan Army and take down guardposts in an extremely difficult situation.

[Kassis] Well, now everything is behind us, and it is worth citing the Soviet Government statement which states the following: In withdrawing from Afghanistan, the Soviet Union will continue to promote a peaceful, all-embracing Afghan settlement. And may I recall in this connection that the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan long ago put forward a realistic program of national reconciliation. It advocated Afghanistan's rebirth as a nonaligned, neutral, united, and peaceful state. Our country viewed this program with understanding, both then and now. Judge for yourselves the existence of a stable and prosperous Afghanistan, standing on its own feet, where there is no war and where people are busy reviving the economy and culture and developing their state, is in our own interests, too, given the fact that Afghanistan is our closest southern neighbor.

[Andrianov] This is why the Soviet Union is indeed rendering considerable assistance to Afghanistan in healing its war wounds, restoring the economy, and meeting the vital needs of the population of this neighboring state. With these aims in mind, our country is acting bilaterally and also through the United Nations. Just recall the events of the last month: The irreconcilable oppositon threw out the idea of setting up a coalition government which might secure the country's political future and adopted a course aimed at destroying its political opponents, while using the tactic of throttling the capital by hunger.

[Kassis] Under these conditions, while withdrawing the Soviet troops, the command simultaneously organized a counterflow of motor vehicles to transport food from our border to Kabul. They brought in chiefly flour, sugar, and oil products. An air bridge was also in operation, by means of which food was also flown in using cargo aircraft. The opposition's barbaric plan was frustrated; the famine blockade did not work.

It is also worth pointing out that at the end of November 1988, the extremists seized and plundered a convoy carrying goods for the inhabitants of the Panjsher District, dispatched under UN auspices as part of humanitarian and economic assistance to Afghanistan.

[Volskiy] Well, this famine strategy, so to speak, is being used in general by the most extremist groupings of the irreconcilable opposition, in Pakistan, and by their ringleaders. They recently, for example, even resorted to seizing material assistance from the United Nations to Afghanistan; they are simply appropriating it for their own personal enrichment.

[Andrianov] Stealing it, in fact.

[Volskiy] Quite simply robbing their own country, while the inhabitants of individual villages and even whole towns have no flour and are left without even the traditional Eastern flatbread which is the staple food in many Eastern countries, and in Afghanistan, too. No wonder many of the refugees who left Afghanistan and who are now in Pakistan are in no hurry to return home!

[Andrianov] It is no accident that the refugee problem remains a most serious problem for Afghanistan. This problem worries all Afghans, regardless of their political views. But it cannot be resolved without a cease-fire. Only by putting an end to the war will it be possible to realize the oportunities for refugees to return which are enshrined in the Geneva accords. And whereas the Soviet and Afghan sides have, all this time, strictly fulfilled the obligations they assumed in Geneva, the same cannot be said for Pakistan. Cases of interference from Pakistani territory in Afghan internal affairs have not ceased. And this creates a multitude of problems on the way to a political settlement around Afghanistan.

[Volskiy] There is another aspect of the Afghan situation which I think we ought to touch upon, namely Pakistan's position in this issue. This position is cause for concern. Not so very long ago, the Soviet press published a sketch-map which Comrade Foreign Minister Shevardnadze quite recently handed over to the Pakistani authorities. Marked on this document—this map—were various sorts of installations, literally flooding, if not the whole of Pakistani territory, then at least the fairly broad border zone adjacent to Afghanistan: ten training camps and stockpiles of ammunition; there are transshipment points; and, finally, the headquarters of the organization of the irreconcilable Afghan opposition. Yet if one studies the Geneva accords, if one looks to these, then all these things are quite simply banned. And furthermore, something else came up recently: There was a report of a plan for annexing Afghanistan to Pakistan. This was how some observers interpreted the statement by Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, particularly when he spoke about some schemes for a confederation of Pakistan and Afghanistan, so to speak. This could not but put on their guard not only the Afghan people, who want independence and existence within their own state, but also many of Pakistan and Afghanistan's neighbors, such as India in particular, which has the least possible interest in such plans.

[Andrianov] All in all, this was reflected in the Soviet Government statement—I mean the aspect you have just mentioned, Dmitriy Antonovich. Our statement said that the Soviet Union cannot overlook utterances by individual spokesmen of the Pakistani leadership relating to the possibility of a future establishment of some sort of Pakistani-Afghan confederation. This sort of speechifying, the document stressed, is in fact aimed at directly encroaching upon the sovereign rights of the people of Afghanistan.

[Kassis] Incidentally, President Najibullah reacted to this as yet verbal demarche as follows—I quote: The military and reactionary groups in Pakistan want to occupy our motherland and turn it into their own fifth province. The country's sovereignty is under threat, he

believes, and with good reason. Furthermore, Islamabad's plans coincide with the ideas of the opposition ringleaders. Thus, one of them, a leader of the opposition Hikmatyar, has more than once spoken out in favor of incorporating Afghanistan into Pakistan under the guise of an Islamic confederaiton.

[Volskiy] It seems to me, Vadim Borisovich, that Islamabad would not be conducting itself in such a way if it did not feel that behind it remains the support of that selfsame Washington. And I remind you that a few days ago a White House spokesman officially confirmed that the new U.S. Administration of President Bush has decided to continue its assistance to the Afghan opposition, including military assistance. This was reported by ASSOCIATED PRESS. Even before that, THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote that Presdident Bush intends to continue this military assistnace—here I am quoting the THE NEW YORK TIMES—as long as the present Kabul leadership remains in power.

[Andrianov] And this, take note, is happening at the very same time when our country is confirming its proposal for an immediate cease-fire between the feuding Afghan groups and for a simultaneous cessation of arms deliveries to Afghanistan by all countries, including the Soviet Union and the United States. That is why, after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, a special responsibility for the situation in Afghanistan and around it lies with Pakistan. And there is no need for the opposition to force an open door by continuing the fratricidal bloodshed. After all, the task facing the Afghans is perfectly manageable at the negotiating table.

[Kassis] And, in general, the fewer weapons and troops in any place, the more chances there are for peaceful steps to settle any troubling question. The West German SAARBRUCKER ZEITUNG wrote the other day, that precisely Afghanistan, which the last Soviet soldier has left, could become an example of how, by joint efforts, complicated problems can be resolved. Yes, it could, but, for the time being, it has not become such an example.

[Volskiy] Well, of course, a positive factor is, nevertheless, that now no one is able to bring up the bugbear of Soviet military presence. No one, including the irreconcilable opposition, can cite this any longer.

And in this connection, so to speak, against this background, the refusal of that opposition to hold peace talks with Kabul, looks, well, at the least unseemly. Because, we all understand that a continuation of the war will mean more and more victims, and we also know something else: The Afghan regime, the government in Kabul, has at its disposal very powerful forces, so that any attempt to take Kabul and other major cities will inevitably lead only to new tragedies and to new bloodshed. And that is why I want to quote a Jordan newspaper. This Jordan newspaper is indicative because, on the whole, during all these years of the war, Jordan has been giving moral support to these Afghan oppositionists. Thus, the AL RA'Y newspaper wrote that the present dissensions between the two groups of Afghans in Islamabad and Tehran—they are in no way capable of sharing the seats in the future parliament, in their leading circles—must serve as a serious warning about what increasing difficulties will arise in connection with the refusal of a peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem. Apart from a peaceful settlement, there is no other way.

[Andrianov] I would also say that there exist contradictions, too, which are already of a chronic nature, between the groups that make up the so-called Alliance of Seven. They continue to squabble and even, it can be said, wage a true armed struggle against one another for the control of territory or when dividing up their plunder. After all, the opposition is very heterogenous. Individual groups look at the country's future differently. And with the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the differences are not decreasing, but, on the contrary, are growing stronger.

[Kassis] The so-called shura—this is a consultative council made up of representatives of the main opposition groups—in the Pakistani town of Rawalpindi testifies to this in particular. This shura was held to approve the composition of the provisional government. But this time, too, it was not possible to avoid a quarrel in Rawalpindi.

[Volskiy] Well, then, today we are justifiably talking about Afghanistan. This is quite natural. I would also like to remind you that the events in Afghanistan and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from there are not isolated phenomena. This withdrawal is exerting a great deal of influence on the entire process of the settlement of regional conflicts, from Cambodia to Central America.

You know, comrades, this week, after long delays and difficulties, at last it was possible to convene a conference of the leaders of the Central American countries, the third—as far I can remember—since the process of unblocking conflicts in the Central American region started. Since then, no particular successes have been observed in this matter, and the present meeting was, therefore, of special importance. And indeed, one gets the impression that it has imparted to the process of the settlement of conflicts in Central America, if perhaps not a decisive stimulus, then, at any rate, a very noticeable impulse. And, of course, a great deal still depends here on what position will be taken by the United States; whether it will, as before, support the Nicaraguan contras, as is the case now, or whether it will take up some other, more restrained position. And it looks as if this matter is still being resolved and has not yet been finally worked out by the new U.S. Administration. One would, of course, want it to choose a more constructive course than before. But the facts testify to something else, to the fact that the Central American countries themselves are capable of resolving their problems within the region, by their own efforts, in a peaceful way.

[Andrianov] The agreements reached at the meeting in El Salvador testify precisely to this; they provide for the drawing up, in the course of 3 months, of a plan, of measures for the withdrawal of the armed formations of the Nicaraguan Contras from Honduras. Unilateral steps by the Government of Nicaragua were announced at the same time: the obligation to hold general elections no later than 25 February under the supervision of the United Nations and the Organization of American States and to guarantee large-scale participation by all parties in the election process and in political life in general.

[Volskiy] Well, in connection with these agreements there is talk of mutual concessions, and there are probably grounds for this. But, all the same, it seems to me that these democratization measures, which the Sandinista leadership of Nicaragua is now taking, are not so much a bow in someone's direction, but, first of all, a display of understanding by the Sandinistas, by the leaders of Nicaragua, of the aspirations of their own, the Nicaraguan people. And it is not fortuitous that these transformations which are taking place now and are being planned in Nicaragua—taking into account, of course, the specific local characteristics of this country—are related to just such steps towards democratization and renewal which are also being taken in many progressive developing countries. On the whole, in various regions of the Third World, political and social processes are proceeding first of all under the influence of internal factors, deep-seated factors, influence which is sometimes difficult to discern from elsewhere, as an outside observer, so to speak. From this, certain unexpected developments arise, even surprises which are thrown up by these regions of the Third World.

[Kassis] It seems to me, an example of this is the uprising—intifadah—of the Palestinians in the territories of the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip occupied by Israel.

[Volskiy] Indeed, Vadim Borisovich, who could have guessed over a year ago—this uprising has been going on for 14 to 15 months already—when it started in uncoordinated demonstrations, that it would assume such a scale, such a truly long-lasting, permanent nature. It has now become a sort of permanent factor, determining the situation in the Middle east. What can the Israeli army do? Escalate the repressions, as the extremists demand? But this would bring onto the punishers an even greater shame than is the case now. We also know that attempts are being made to find some compromisers on the West Bank of the River Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. But, on the whole, all this is not leading anywhere, and it is becoming increasingly obvious that this problem can be resolved in one, peaceful, political way, and in no other way.

[Andrianov] As you know, the visit by Comrade Shevardnadze, our country's foreign minister, to the Middle East is taking place now. Five countries—Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, and Iran—are included in the itinerary of his tour. The questions of a Middle East settlement will, of course, be at the center of attention during the Soviet minister's talks with the leaders of these states. I remind you that prior to his departure, Comrade Shevardnadze said that even though one should not expect any dramatic results, nonetheless, it is our conviction that the time has come to act more vigorously.

[Volskiy] Comrade Shevardnadze's tour—the first in many years undertaken at such a high level to this region—testifies precisely to the need for such more vigorous actions. I think that two principal circumstances are influencing this background: the intifadah, of which we have just spoken, and the cessation of the Iran-Iraq war. Both these circumstances are helping to smooth out inter-Arab differences, and in particular, to deepen the pull toward Arab unity. For the time being, this manifests itself in the efforts being made—so to speak—within the framework of individual regions of the Arab world. And it would of course be a good thing if the tendency toward the unification of the Arabs within the framework of individual regions were to develop into a tendency towards strengthening pan-Arab unity. This would greatly contribute to strengthening peace in all the Middle East and to attaining a settlement of the Middle East conflict

[Kassis] The Middle Eastern perspective is, no doubt, also influenced by the fact that the overwhelming majority of members of the world community ever more insistently advocate a peaceful settlement in the Middle East and, with this aim the convening of a representative international conference.

[Andrianov] And now I think we should switch from the Middle East to another region, that of Southeast Asia, for good reason.

In the capital of Indonesia today, the second stage of the Jakarta Informal Meeting on Cambodia is about to begin. We have not got any specific reports from there so far, but I suppose they will come in soon. In fact, this meeting was heralded by a conference of the expert working group in Jakarta. It began 3 days ago. Taking part in this working group's session were representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, three opposition Khmer groups which are part of the so-called coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, and also representatives of Vietnam, Laos, as well as those of the six member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN.

[Kassis] I think it is appropriate to remind you that this working group was set up as a result of a decision of the first informal meeting on Cambodia. It was held at the end of last July in Bogor, a suburb of Jakarta. This was an important regional forum on a political settlement of the Cambodian problem. It was then that the so-called Jakarta process was begun, a search for a peaceful solution to the Cambodian conflict. And now, as we can see, this process is continuing.

[Volskiy] But I would like to draw your attention to the following circumstance in connection with these concluded sessions of the working group. After all it is already the second time that it has gotten together. The first time it met was last October, also in Jakarta, to be more exact, in a resort town near the Indonesian capital. But then its sessions were held without the participation of representatives of the Pol Pot group; the so-called Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge leaders boycotted the activities of the working body of the regional forum on Cambodia. But this time, all members of the working group got together. Perhaps one should not overstate the significance of this fact, but nor should we disparage it.

[Andrianov] Opening the session of the working group, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas stressed that its participants must undertake specific resolute efforts aimed at accelerating the process of overcoming disagreements and expanding the areas of mutual understanding on the main elements of a political settlement of the Cambodian problem.

[Kassis] These good wishes are very much to the point. The participants of the working group had to draw up, in particular, an agenda for the second informal meeting on Cambodia, which has begun today, as we already noted. It is being held at the level of the leaders of the four Cambodian sides and with the participation of the foreign affairs ministers of Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN countries.

[Volskiy] However, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the leader of one of the Khmer opposition groups, has refused to go to Jakarta, although Indonesian President Suharto invited him there personally, His son is present there in Sihanouk's palace. And yet, after all, Sihanouk's participation in the second informal meeting on Cambodia was planned in advance.

[Andrianov] Because we have started to talk about Sihanouk's refusal, it is probably necessary to explain the reasons for it. Here, for example, is what AFP wrote about this. In its view, the former monarch made this gesture as a sign of protest against the unofficial visit made by Hun Sen, head of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, to Thailand last month.

[Kassis] Yes, Norodom Sihanouk claims that thanks to this visit by Hun Sen, the latter allegedly managed to get his regime recognized as legitimate. However, it should be said directly that in reality the whole situation is quite different. There was no mention of any recognition whatsoever during the Cambodian-Thai talks in Bangkok. So, to put it mildly, Sihanouk is strongly exaggerating the results of Hun Sen's visit to Thailand. And the reason he used to explain his refusal to go to Jakarta is not convincing. By all accounts his unwillingness to take part in the meeting conceals something else.

[Volskiy] And what is characteristic here is that Sihanouk's refusal to go to Jakarta has failed to meet with understanding in a number of the ASEAN countries. What is more, the local press was quite critical about his demonstrative gesture. For example, the Indonesian newspaper JAKARTA POST, which is close to the government circles of Indonesia, appraised Sihanouk's step as a serious tactical mistake on Sihanouk's part. Moving away from diplomatic initiatives aimed at settling the Cambodian problems, the newspapers wrote, Sihanouk is thereby creating doubts in the minds of his supporters, including the ASEAN countries, as to whether he has the necessary realism to keep pace with the changing geopolitical situation.

[Andrianov] Objective observers, however, expressed a firm conviction—and were obviously not mistaken—that the second informal meeting in Jakarta would take place regardless of whether Sihanouk attends or not. After all, the latest radical changes in Cambodia, and in southeast Asia as a whole, took place without his participation.

[Kassis] This judgment is wholly well-founded, in my view, as confirmed by the improvement in relations between Thailand and Vietnam, between Vietnam and China, and also the published Soviet-Chinese statement on Cambodia. Sihanouk does not have anything to do with these facts which have indeed had positive effect on the situation around Cambodia and on the situation in southeast Asia.

[Volskiy] But I want to note in this connection that the members of the special committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea—there is such a body—at their meeting a week and a half ago at the UN Headquarters, drew attention to everything that you have just been saying here. The chairman of this committee, Aksa Claude Dialo, stated that substantial progress has lately been achieved in a settlement of the international aspects of the Cambodian problem.

[Andrianov] All this is generally correct. The positive changes that took place after the meeting in Bogor in the international arena and in southeast Asia promoted the creation of a more favorable atmosphere for successfully holding the second informal meeting on Cambodia, and—I would even say—for attaining specific accords in the interests of a most speedy settlement of the conflict. And this is believed to be possible as soon as this year. However, according to observers in Jakarta, there are still many obstacles to overcome on this path; they are particularly related to disagreements between the sides on a number of internal and foreign aspects of a settlement.

[Kassis] Yes, these are the realities and it is necessary to take them into account in order to avoid self-deception or portraying the desired for as the real. An attempt to console oneself with illusions is always fraught with negative consequences.

[Volskiy] Yes, you are right, Vadim Borisovich; it is necessary to face up to facts. And the facts show that immediately before the meeting in Jakarta today, the Khmer opposition made an attempt to seize the initiative and put forward a whole range of demands which, I think, were wholly unjustified and which were patently excessive. Take, for example, the fact that before the present regional forum, the Khmer opposition groups, as well as the press of some countries, were forcibly inflating a thesis about the importance of setting up a quadripartite coalition government in Cambodia headed by Prince Sihanouk.

[Andrianov] The weakness of this thesis is obvious: Is there anyone who has the right to impose a government on the Cambodian people without holding free general elections organized under international auspices. It should also be recalled that there are proposals in Phnom Penh to set up a national reconciliation council which could be organized under Norodom Sihanouk. This council could take upon itself both the realization of the accords between the various Cambodian factions and the holding of elections.

[Kassis] And as for the opposition's demand to abolish the People's Republic of Kampuchea, what is that worth? Just like that, they say, with a stroke of a pen, they wish to straightaway eliminate the vital gains of the Cambodian people which have their own state, their own legitimate government. True, in exchange for this, the opposition expresses readiness to abolish the so-called Democratic Kampuchea. But is it possible to seriously compare these two concepts: a state that exists in reality and something ephemeral which cannot be found on any political map of the world?

[Volskiy] But, nevertheless, taking stock of our discussion of the Cambodian problem, I think it is necessary to say this: The process of a political settlement of this problem is of a very complex and very contradictory nature. Therefore, it is now extremely important not to stir up passions, rather, in every possible way, to try to seek mutual understanding between all the Cambodian sides, take into account the real situation of affairs, and observe the balance of the interests of all the sides. I very much hope that this is precisely the path that the participants of the second informal meeting in Jakarta will choose. For any other way will only lead nowhere but to a dead end.

[Andrianov] This concludes our meeting at the roundtable today. All its participants thank you for your attention, esteemed comrade listeners. Good-bye. All the best to you.

Work of Consular Service Discussed, Criticized

*Consular Service Criticized

WA18000543a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by A. Sychev: "Old Instructions Hinder 'New Style' Work, Say the Workers of the Soviet Consular Service"]

[Text] I met with Lars Ekstrom in a room at the small "Swedish Coordinating System" company, co-owned by Lars. The history of Lars' marriage became the subject of our meeting.

In 1985, Ekstrom worked on firm business at the capital's Vnukovo Airport. There, in Moscow, he became acquainted with Olga Skachkova, and after finishing his job Lars and Olga were married in April of the following year.

"We received permission for the wedding with remarkable speed," said Ekstrom, "and I had thought that the baby we were expecting would be born in Sweden. But our son was born in the USSR, because by that time we still hadn't received a response to our request to emigrate...."

A negative response soon followed. And then another, and another.... As Ekstrom said, the reason was that Olga had had access to secret information at her workplace. Ekstrom hopes that all this will have a happy ending, and that his family will be reunited. There is a basis for such a prognosis: Other conflicting situations such as this are being decided favorably.

The second question is: When will this happy ending come about? It makes sense to listen to Ekstrom's constructive suggestion:

"I see my wife and son from time to time. Sometimes I go to the USSR as a tourist, sometimes at the invitation of Olga's brother or someone else. I can't not go, because Olga has been fired from work; she can't live in the old dormitory. They won't register her to live with her parents. She is now a person without any particular occupation.... If I only had a multi-entry visa, so that I could go to my family when I have the chance, rather than when the invitation is processed. This would give us hope that they haven't forgotten us and that they're trying to find a way out."

In the meantime, Lars Ekstrom goes to the consular section of the Soviet Embassy with all his woes. He goes, like many others, with a great variety of questions.

Up to 100 people a day come to the Consular Reception Section, located on Kungsgatan Street, during the 2-hour period when it is open.

There is not a manifestation of human feeling you will not encounter visiting here. Offense, bewilderment, disappointment.... Consular service...the very same gates to the USSR that can be flung open can also be locked.

But let us figure out to what extent the consular section workers are guilty in the situtation which came about.

So this is how the processing for a private, non-business, non-tourist visit, goes: The business paperwork begins with filling out three forms, which are then registered with the consulate. After this, the party concerned mails his documents to those who issued the invitation. Upon

receipt of the documents, the future hosts must wait more than once in the long lines at OVIR [Visa and Registration Department] in order to receive the corresponding resolutions. Then the papers are sent, again by mail, to the invitees in Sweden, who return to the consulate and only then receive (or do not receive) their entrance visa.

But even in this case, not all of the questions are decided. For instance, what period of stay in the USSR is allowed? By which deadlines must the visas be returned? We add that all these questions are interpreted differently in the various cities of our country, depending on the individual OVIR.

Aleksandr Kudinov, consular section chief in Stockholm, said that when the customs officials in Pulkovo discovered his profession and rank, they immediately complained about the consulate, which, in their words, incorrectly informs people departing for the USSR about the matter of gifts. Initially, bringing in gifts of up to 100 rubles was allowed; then this sum was increased to a maximum of 500 rubles. And this was all; no further explanations reached the consulate. But in Pulkovo, the customs officials showed the instructions which indicated that one figure was intended for foreigners, and a completely different figure for Soviet citizens. So which instructions are correct, the Pulkovo or Stockholm set?

Another moment. Among businessmen in Sweden, permission to interrupt a visit to the USSR is highly prized. As if there weren't many situations when it's necessary to leave Moscow for Stockholm immediately? Now the order has been simplified: It is sufficient to note the visit's interruption in the passport, done by OVIR, and be on your way. Good? No, not very, because in addition to making note of the interrruption, an entrance visa for the return should also be provided. It was not, and the businessman had to return to the consular section for a visa. And there, his documents have already expired under the first visa. They have to be found. Reams of paper must be gone through....

In the meantime, the Swedes' interest in the Soviet Union is especially high today. According to the consulate's figures, the number of trips to the USSR has increased 20 percent in comparison to 1986. Economic cooperation is growing at the same time as the expansion of humanitarian ties. Accoring to Jan-Ulof (Nyustrom), secretary of the Assistance Committee for Trade and Economic Cooperation with the USSR, Swedish companies are waking up. More and more new firms are turning to the committee with inquiries on the opportunities to establish links with Soviet enterprises.

The "KF Prokordiya AB" company is no novice at trading with the Soviet Union. It has a trade delegation in Moscow, and its leader, Nikolay Vestersten, cannot answer exactly where he lives, in Moscow or at home. But nevertheless....

"We have fine relations with the consulate," said Vestersten, "but in principle, compared with other countries, getting a visa to the USSR is much more complicated than to anywhere else. For example, we have an office in China. If we have to send a businessman, we send a telex, and receive confirmation of preparedness to provide our person with everything he needs. We take this telex to the Chinese Embassy, and they give us a visa right then and there. It would be wonderful if you could somehow resolve the problem of speeding up the procedure!"

"Under conditions of expanding business contacts, a unifying mechanism is needed," said A. Kudinov. "An official office is needed, such as the consulate here, which fully understands both Soviet and Swedish laws, knows the local mentality and is able to defend legal interests."

What should our consulate offer businessmen? First and foremost, qualified visa and passport service, which has already become possible as the result of a unilateral resolution of the USSR to present visas to businesses and scientists within 48 hours, simplification of the formalities, assistance in complicated situations which spring up from the unwieldy and unclear instructions, consultations, and even a search for business partners.

"We could in the future, for a set fee, render assistance to our enterprises and cooperatives by warning them of the consequences of the latest legal step," explained A. Kudinov. "And for the Swedish employers the consulate could render assistance in checking on the solvency of our firms."

We will add, it is true, that all these goals can be attained through a cardinal restructuring of the work of the consular services. But in the meantime.... In the meantime, the consulate has not received new customs regulations, adopted months ago, and a number of its workers found out about export restrictions of a number of goods from the USSR by reading the Swedish newspapers.

Concrete acts have special significance for a person: a kind word, concern, and an attentive attitude toward his problems. The work of the consular section is woven of "life's trivialities," but in life, as we know, nothing is trivial.

How typical is the situation described in the correspondence? What steps can be taken to solve the problems of the consular service. We addressed these questions to the deputy chief of the USSR MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] Consular Department, Igor Vasilyevich Khalevinskiy.

*Official Acknowledges Problems

WA18000543 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Statement by Yu.V. Khalevinskiy: "The Situation is Fairly Typical, According to the Deputy Chief of the USSR MFA Consular Department"]

[Text] Unfortunatly, the situation is fairly typical. And the questions raised by your material are all the more

pointed, as they had their origin in the work of our consular section in Sweden, one of the best subdivisions of the consular service. Of course, not everything depends on the consul, but in running up against all sorts of bureaucratic obstacles, a person addresses his complaints to the consular workers, the first representatives of the state apparatus he encounters on his path to resolving one problem or another. This is why the matter of the need to humanize our service is so pressing today, turning toward people. These are the tasks which were set before us back in 1918 by the Leninist decree on Soviet consuls. But then the humanistic core of this most important document was reduced to nothing by various directives which finally "let down the Iron Curtain" from our side.

Matters were reduced to the absurd, to a state of affairs where Soviet citizens living abroad could enter the USSR only with special permission, preceded by a prolonged and complex period of completing a vast variety of documents. Only now is this decades-old directive invalid, and there has finally been a restoration of the normal order of entrance into the homeland for a Soviet citizen and members of his family. It is sufficient to visit a Soviet consular office and indicate one's wishes, and the dates of the visit; this is done in full view of the citizen.

I don't bring up this example by accident. Like litmus paper, this reflects the new trend in consular matters, in our approach to resolving accumulated problems. This was the subject of the conference of USSR MFA consular workers in December of last year, and the measures outlined at the conference are already starting to be implemented. The process of humanization of the consular service is in progress. But, you understand, this is not a simple process. It will entail a break with conservative traditions, and the creation of such legal acts as would respond to the immense tasks of restructuring.

Today, spontaneous contacts between people, which we call people's diplomacy, have acquired even greater significance. This requires a modified consular service, and we stumble into antiquated directives which remain in effect till this day. Of course, for our part, we want to undertake everything which is dependent upon us in order to simplify, for example, the procedure for private trips by foreign tourists to the USSR, on which subject we are sending our recommendations to the appropriate departments. I think that in the final account, the problem will be solved, but the process should be accelerated, for today the time factor is hardly one of the least important.

This is being done manifestly against the background of the broadest development of foreign economic activities of Soviet enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives. When a day is lost, the week can be simply deficient.

We are carefully studying the experience of our colleagues from other countries, including China, Hungary, and Poland, whose consular services are run efficiently and harmoniously, thus furthering the resolution of economic problems. We have already simplified our procedure for the entry of businesmen and scientists into the USSR; this was discussed in the Stockholm correspondence. But this is only the first step, and others must follow it.

Among these are the issues of defense of the legal and economic interests of the state, its organizations and citizens. This is the direct concern of the consular service. I think that in solving problems of that sort we must make broader use not only of our civil workers, but of honorary consuls from among the number of Soviet compatriots living abroad, representatives of the country in which they are living. This is an extraordinarily serious reserve, about which we have "forgotten" for many years. After all, in the first years after the October Revolution, Soviet Russia had honorary consuls. One of the first such consuls of Soviet Russia was John Reed, the famous American publicist and activist in the U.S. labor movement. In 1918, he was designated RSFSR honorary consul-general in New York.

As you see, there are many urgent matters in the consular service; some of them are being resolved, others are at a stage of active study; for example, the question of creating in the consular foreign offices some sort of monetary fund to render material assistance to those in serious situations. We are just trying to approach some problems. But I think that in the final account, these and many other issues associated with the restructuring of the consular service will be resolved. We simply have no other route.

UN Space Committee Delegate Cited on Proposals

LD2202235389 Moscow TASS in English 2200 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov:

The regular, 26th, session of the scientific and technical subcommittee of the U.N. committee on the peaceful uses of outer space opened Tuesday at the headquarters of the international community.

The session will discuss the programme of using space equipment and coordinating activity in space in the United Nations framework, questions related to distant probing of the earth by means of satellites, the use of nuclear energy sources in outer space, the study of the physical nature and technical characteristics of a geostationary orbit, including its uses in space communication. Questions related to the biological sciences, including space medicine, the exploration of planets, studies of geosphere-biosphere (global changes) will also be discussed.

The subcommittee's session will discuss particularly the possibilities of using space technology for solving ecological problems. Much attention will be given by the session to possibilities of meeting the requirements and interests of developing countries as a result of peaceful uses of outer space.

The Soviet Union is firmly convinced about the need for all-out widening of international cooperation in peaceful exploration of outer space which is an alternative to plans of emplacing weapons of any kind in outer space, said Academician Oleg Gazenko, the head of the Soviet delegation. Three years ago the USSR submitted for the consideration of the world community a plan for the construction of "stellar peace" one of whose key elements is the proposal to form a world space organisation. The readiness to pass on from generalised calls to real deeds was shown clearly by the proposal to include in the system of that organisation a centre for international cooperation in peaceful exploration and uses in outer space which could be formed on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk radar station under United Nations auspices.

One of the priority tasks our civilisation encounters is to prevent the impending ecological danger, the danger that recognises neither national borders, nor ideological or other difference, Academician Gazenko said. The Soviet Union proposes to cooperate in the creation of an international space laboratory or a manned orbital station for environmental control. It was suggested to use for these purposes one of specialised modules which is planned to be linked up with the manned orbital station "Mir" to install additional scientific equipment on it.

We declare in favour of the U.N. General Assembly adopting a decision to announce the year 1992 the international year of outer space and we are ready to cooperate with other countries in the prepations for and holding of the year, the USSR representative said. The Soviet Union will be declaring firmly and consistently for the establishment and development of interaction of states, for durable and stable peace on earth and in outer space, he said.

Shevardnadze Thanks UNIDO for Earthquake Aid

LD2202192589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Vienna, 21 Feb (TASS)—A message from Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, which expresses the sincere appreciation of the Soviet Union to the director general and officials of the UNIDO Secretariat for the aid and support rendered in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia, was conveyed to Domingo Siazon, director general of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), here today.

The unprecedented upsurge of solidarity with Armenia, the message says, symbolizes the common nature of the destiny of mankind and is clear evidence of the deep, positive changes going on in the world.

United States & Canada

Bush Begins Tour of Three Asian Countries 22 Feb

LD2202134289 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 22 TAS—On February 22 George Bush went on his first overseas tour as U.S. President. He will visit Japan, China and South Korea between February 22 and 27.

The President's National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft said at a special briefing in the White House on Tuesday that the trip, timed to coincide wih the funeral of Japanese Emperior Hirohito, would confirm the importance attached by the USA to the development of relations with the above nations. In is own words, President Bush will have a chance to reaffirm that the USA intends to play an active role in the region.

Bush Cited on U.S. Policy in Asia

LD2302122389 Moscow TASS in English 1157 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin: U.S. President George Bush, who left Washington on Wednesday to visit Japan, China and South Korea, made a stop in Alaska on the same day to refuel the presidential airliner at Elmendorf Air Force Base there. The head of the administration used it to deliver a speech to the personnel of the base, in which he set out in general terms the goals of his Asian tour.

Bush stated that the time of the visit was dictated by the demise of Japanese Emperor Hirohito, but it will also represent "a measure of respect for a valued ally and fellow democracy."

Local mass media points out that it is very unusual for a U.S. President to set out on a foreign tour as this one in just 33 days after entering office. This fact alone explains the reasons behind Bush's decision to attend the funeral of Emperor Hirohito. The President did not conceal that the trip pursued the objective to try and improve relationship with Tokyo on several global issues, first and foremost, on problems of world trade relations. Japan is the arch rival of American companies in this field, elbowing out the latter not only on traditional commodity markets but also taking over the American home market.

"In China I hope to build on the friendly, stable and enduring relationship that now exists...that relationship is fundamental in any foreign policy equation of the United States," the President went on. Touching on his trip to South Korea, Bush stressed that he will meet the leaders of a country which speedily enters the ranks of advanced economies.

The President said: "At each stop, I am to strengthen key relationships with our friends and partners in the Pacific region." "We are a Pacific power and this visit will demonstrate we intend to stay a Pacific power."

Those who expected that Bush's speech would be filled with more specific content and would allow them to half-open the administration's foreign policy cards were, however, disappointed. In his speech the 41st President actually admitted himself that his administration has as yet not completed the announced evaluation of the U.S. foreign policy positions.

For instance, he bluntly said that the administration is now grappling with problems faced by the new Secretary of State James Baker, General Scowcroft, assistant to the president for national security affairs, and the President. It is grappling with the alarming situation in the Middle East, East-West relations, with what will occur in Europe, and how should the administration settle matters South of Rio Grande. Bush said all these were important political decisions faced by the administration, important spheres.

Bush's tour will last until February 27.

Brzezinski Predictions on USSR Questioned

PM1702143189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Nadein article under the rubric "Events: Essence and Opinions": "Zbigniew Brzezinski's Dual Standards"]

[Text] Zbigniew Brzezinski, former assistant for national security affairs under President Carter, recently made a statement to a group of reporters and editors of THE WASHINGTON TIMES. "For the next 20 or 30 years the Soviet Union will be the center of national and ethnic conflicts in the world," Brzezinski said. "We will witness a long period of crisis, which will be followed by a period of stagnation and then the establishment of great Russian nationalism."

The processes taking place in our country are vitally important to the fate of peace. Moreover, they are grippingly interesting. The theme of restructuring is developing swiftly, captivating both participants and observers.

Hence the multitude of forecasts, prophesies, and conjectures. There is a steady demand for them abroad. Few political scientists, journalists, and retired presidents deny themselves the pleasure of indulging in predictions of our future. Leaders need balanced, scientifically based forecasts in order to formulate long-term policy lines. The public wants to know what is going to happen and is quite willing for the accuracy of predictions to take a back seat to their entertainment value.

Can all these extremes be reconciled in a single newspaper item?

Z. Brzezinski is an analyst of the processes taking place in the socialist world who enjoys authority in the United States. Today his reaction to restructuring exudes pessimism. That is nothing original in itself. There are all kinds of shades in the spectrum of foreign assessments, from rosy and boundless admiration to black and gloomy predictions of an impending, inevitable apocalypse. What is important is the arguments used by the venerable analyst to corroborate his forecasts.

"We in the West have done nothing to stimulate Ukrainian, Baltic, and Islamic nationalism, yet it is now a vital and dynamic force," Brzezinski told the readers of THE WASHINGTON TIMES. (We would remind our readers that the short-wave programs of the Ukrainian, Estonian, Lithuanian, Uzbek, and other services of Voice of America and Radio Liberty cannot be received on U.S. territory.) "The Soviets have been unable to control their nationalities problem. This is an historic failure. Their system is in a state of mortal crisis. This is the most serious process taking place in the world today."

Does Brzezinski have any proof of this? Of a sort, and we are entitled to evaluate it. Here it is: "In just the last 2 weeks Estonia and Latvia have sent delegates to the European Council and the European Parliament in Strasbourg without asking Moscow's permission." The conclusion that the popular Sovietologist is trying to suggest to his audience is clear: If Moscow were strong enough to "control its nationalities problem," the Estonians would have no chance of going to Strasbourg. And if the Soviets have tolerated this kind of democracy, they must be weak.

Let's remember this sample of logic. Z. Brzezinski will later make repeated use of this device.

On the economic front, he continues, the picture is equally serious. "The Soviet Union is now running up against serious inflation and deficits far worse than in the United States."

The point is not even that the U.S. analyst is citing gloomy data. The gloom is strictly functional. It is designed to prompt the Western world to display political aggressiveness and toughness and to play a wary waiting game. "President Mikhail Gorbachev is in such desperate need of Western help to reform the Soviet economy that he may now compromise on issues that were not up for discussion in the past," Brzezinski claims.

Once again it is the same tune: Many problems were not even up for discussion in the past. This too, in Brzezinski's view, symbolized confidence and strength. Today Moscow does not pronounce the notorious "no" which in former days nipped in the bud exchanges of opinions on the most acute questions of the time. According to Brzezinski, the abandonment of a hardened, ossified position has just one source—our weakness.

Another monograph by Z. Brzezinski entitled "The Great Failure. The Birth and Death of Communism in the 20th Century" will shortly appear in the bookstores. His remarks in THE WASHINGTON TIMES amount to a kind of abstract by the author designed for general consumption. Some of the flights of fancy may have an immediate commercial aim: intriguing potential purchasers. And merely for the sake of being bold and and intriguing Z. Brzezinski, contradicting his own forecast of protracted stagnation (if you remember, this stagnation is suppposed to last 20 or 30 years, which may seem tedious to the impatient reader), includes military putsches, uprisings, and even hints of assassination such as in the period of Tsar Alexander II not in the remote future but in the most immediate future.

Brzezinski himself can hardly be unaware of less remote and more accurate analogies—Lenin's NEP [New Economic Policy—FBIS], for instance. He is aware of them, he's a specialist. But in that case the chain of nerve-tingling historical parallels falls apart. In that case the main conclusion that the author does not express directly in his article but invariably keeps in view cannot be sustained.

If you discard the details and minutiae, Brzezinski's conclusion is: Democracy will kill the USSR. If you look closely at the system of conclusions reached by the American seer you can see his peculiar respect for the strong-arm methods of the stagnation period. Stagnation benefited from the proposal of convergence advanced by Z. Brzezinski in ardently defending the argument that the two sides have the preconditions for rapprochement on the basis of reciprocal influence. Today his stance is tougher and more implacable.

There have been and will continue to be a multitude of predictions and guesses about restructuring. It would be wrong to assume that scientifically sound predictions are dependent on a sympathetic and upbeat attitude toward our work. In the final analysis something rational can be extracted from any criticism, and the bitter truth is more useful than sweet lies.

The former presidential aide did not have to try very hard to find examples of the indisputable seriousness of the economic, ethnic, and ideological problems in our country. Glasnost has raised them for general discussion. Incidentally, the time has passed when criticism "from inside" could sometimes be referred to as criticism whereas criticism "from outside" was always regarded as slander and only slander.

Regardless of our reaction, Brzezinski is someone who is listened to in the United States. His authority as a Sovietologist will give weight to his predictions. Will they be heeded when the new administration's actual policy is being shaped? And, if so, will it be noticed that the author is defending dual standards?

The first implies: For the Western world democracy is an effective means for solving the most serious problems.

The second insists: There's no democracy that will help the USSR.

Could anyone have supposed even a few years ago that history would place on our country the duty of attempting to prove the universal value of the democratic form of government?

U.S. Promotes 'Neither Peace Nor War' in Mideast

TA2202190689 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1730 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] U.S. President George Bush told reporters at the White House that in the near future the administration intends to organize direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan. The President rejected the notion of a Palestinian state, adding that the Soviet Union's role in the Middle East should be limited.

In connection with this, it should be noted that since Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's arrival in the Middle East, Washington officials have made daily declarations regarding the ways toward a settlement in the region. While the Soviet Union, however, is urging to break the ice and to take urgent steps to guarantee the well-being of all the Middle East countries, the U.S. Administration either adheres to its stand saying that there is no rush, or—at most—proposes incomplete solutions.

Secretary of State Baker said at the beginning of this week that the situation in the Middle East is not so grave as to require urgent solutions. The recent issue of the weekly SURVIVAL carried a comprehensive article by Prof (Richard Hess), head of U.S. National Security Council's Middle East department, saying that the conditions for a comprehensive settlement are not ripe and that some formula should be found to establish an Israeli-Jordanian rule in the territories.

The impression is that the administration has withdrawn even from the stand it proclaimed at the beginning of the year, when it considered the possibility of adopting the concept of an international conference, a peace-for-territories arrangement, and the recognition of the PLO as an organization representing the Palestinians. In recent days, Washington has adopted the stands held by the Likud's right wing. It seems to be hinting to Israel that the more unbending it is in the Arens-Shevardnadze talks, the better it will be. Will the Americans convey similar conceptions after the Cairo meeting?

So far, we are unable to answer this question. This is not the main point, however. Whether the administration wished to strengthen the Israeli hawks' position or whether its stand has indeed become more unbending, the central question is whether Washington is at all interested in achieving peace in the Middle East, including peace for its strategic ally, Israel.

In fact, the current situation of neither peace nor war suits U.S. interests in the area to perfection. In connection with this, Reserves Major General Mati Peled has written that controlled Israeli-Arab tension guarantees the U.S. economy an annual income of $15 billion from arms sales to both Israel and the Arabs. If an international conference is convened, the entire business will collapse. Besides, in the atmosphere of tension and mutual suspicion, the two sides to the conflict are forced to turn to U.S. mediation. This gives Washington additional spheres of influence over the countries in the region.

As for negotiations between Israel and Jordan which are proposed as an alternative to the international conference or to an Israeli-Jordanian condominium in the territories, it is doubtful whether such proposals will be acceptable to the Jordanians. So far, Amman has rejected any offer to participate in separate arrangements that would undermine its position in the Arab world.

Even if we assume that the U.S. plan is somehow implemented, will it put an end to the conflict between Israel and Syria, to the tension along the northern border, or to the war of attrition with the Palestinians? If these aspects are considered, the question is whether it is worth Israel's while to gamble on partial solutions under the patronage of Washington, while bypassing the peace process highway, which is the way of the international conference on the Middle East.

China

CPSU Politburo Discusses PRC Ties, Pakistan

OW1902093089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 18 Feb 89

[From the "World Today" program]

[Text] The Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee held a meeting on 16 February to discuss the outcome of Shevardnadze's official visit to the PRC.

The meeting pointed out with satisfaction that his talks and meetings with the Chinese leaders were a major step forward in improving and strengthening the trust between the two countries and paving the way for a Soviet-Chinese summit.

According to an agreement reached between the two sides, Gorbachev will visit China from 15 to 18 May 1989. The upcoming summit will decide the direction for further developing Soviet-Chinese relations and lay the foundation for increasing goodneighborliness and cooperation. In this connection, the agreement reached

in principle on initiating negotiations to mutually balance and reduce armed forces and armaments along the Soviet-Chinese border to a minimum level is of great significance. Both sides attach great importance to making the border region a region of peace and friendship.

During their exchange of views in Beijing, the two sides agreed that there are great potentials for expanding trade and economic ties, and indicated their willingness to make good use of the new opportunies.

The meeting expressed profound confidence that the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will contribute tremendously to relaxing and stabilizing relations and increasing cooperation among the people of various countries, and will not be detrimental to the interests of third countries.

The meeting also reviewed a report by Shevardnadze on his working visit to Pakistan, and stressed the importance of the Soviet-Pakistani joint statement. The statement called for a political settlement of the Afghan question and facilitating the establishment of a broadly based government participated in by all forces in Afghanistan.

At the same time, the Politburo meeting also stressed that Pakistan will by no means be allowed to take the opportunity of the Soviet troop withdrawal to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

The meeting urged the Pakistani authorities to honor their promises in helping to bring about an early release and return of Soviet prisoners of war detained by the Afghan rebels and mediate in the Afghan question in a fair and thorough manner, thereby creating favorable conditions for ushering in a new stage in Soviet-Pakistani relations.

Improved PRC Ties No Threat to Other Nations

BK1802045789 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Station observer (Igor Karavayev) commentary]

[Text] Nearly 2 weeks have elapsed since Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet minister of foreign affairs, paid a visit to the PRC. However, the outcome of this visit remains at the center of world attention. Why? Our station observer, Comrade (Igor Karavayev) has this to say:

There is nothing puzzling about that. Soviet-Chinese relations have become an inseparable part of today's international relations networks, not unlike Soviet-U.S. or Sino-Japanese relations, and have had a similar impact on world politics. There must be, for various reasons, causes that bring unusual attention to the dialogue between the Soviet and Chinese parties. For example, Japan, the United States, and their allies are asking themselves whether their relations with Beijing might change following normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. We would like to express the hope that the Soviet foreign minister's visit to the PRC has already erased such worries and has assured everyone that a dialogue with the Soviet Union has not in the least affected China's relations with any third country.

As far as the Southeast Asian countries are concerned, they are certainly very satisfied to see that the Soviet Union and the PRC are helping to unravel the worrisome Cambodian knot. The statement issued by the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers regarding the Cambodian problem reflects the total identity of views of the two parties concerning many aspects of the solution to this problem.

According to the remarks by Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan, this statement has become a symbol of the efforts made by the Soviet Union and the PRC toward building peace in Cambodia. Satisfaction has also been widely expressed that the situation in Southeast Asia has gradually gained stability, warmed by the improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations. Positive reaction has also been recorded all over the world due to the fact that both Moscow and Beijing have adhered to either identical or similar viewpoints regarding key international issues, such as the efforts to totally eliminate nuclear weapons, prevent the militarization of outer space, and maintain the convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons.

At the same time, some people are not happy to see the Soviet Union and China actively engaged in negotiations with each other. These narrow-minded people continue to claim that improvement of the relationship between the Soviet Union and the PRC might threaten the interests of third countries. My opinion is that those leading this school of thought either have failed to monitor the visit or remain trapped in the confrontationist concept of old when the world was usually interpreted as a polarization between opposing political-military alliances. Certainly such claims have been made without taking into consideration the realities of the present-day world where everything is interdependent.

The Soviet Union, as its leaders have frequently stressed, has no intention of bringing its relations with China back to those years around 1955. The Soviet Union firmly pledges to build its relationship with China on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which have already been tested by time and international practice. Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Beijing has once again showed, in my opinion, that a Soviet-Chinese rapprochement does not have to hurt the relations of either of our countries with any third countries, nor does it have to harm the interests of the latter. On this point, we would like to note with great satisfaction that the Soviet Union and China fully agree with each other.

Asian-Pacific View of USSR-PRC Ties Favorable

OW2002034289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Commentary by Alekseyev: "Asian and Pacific Countries Show Concern for Normalization of Soviet-Chinese Relations"—from the "World Today" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, generally speaking, Asian and Pacific countries have responded favorably to the results of the visit to China by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. This is evidenced by the appraisal of government officials in Bangkok regarding an agreement reached during the visit on the meeting between Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping. Thai Premier Chatchai Chunhawan said on 8 February that the Thai Government has not slightest doubt that the meeting between the leaders of the two big powers, the Soviet Union and China, will consolidate the peace in this region and throughout the world.

Station commentator Alekseyev writes: This appraisal is typical of the Asian-Pacific region. It is a conclusive proof that old shackles, which dominated Thailand and other Asian-Pacific countries until recently, have been shattered. At that time, leaders and mass media in these countries considered Soviet-Chinese relations antagonistic in nature. In fact, even now we can still see that this view is still being spread. A recent article in the Thai paper THE NATION is a case in point.

The author maintained that normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and CPSU-CPC cooperation agreement will put non-communist countries in Asian-Pacific region in a very difficult position. Why? Because such cooperation will increase the influence of socialist countries in Asia. The article said this will pose a serious threat to the security of the ASEAN nations and pro-Western countries in this region. We may not need to disprove such downright absurdity. It seems that those who hold this view have completely lost the sense of reality, like the Japanese soldiers who got lost in the Philippine jungles and continued to fight even after the war had ended for many years.

Obviously the absurd view that results from thinking in terms of confrontation is not welcomed. This is understandable because it does not conform with reality, which is witnessed by all people. These facts have clearly pointed out that in solving the problems of the Asian-Pacific region, including the Cambodian question, cooperation between the Soviet Union and China is an important factor that will contribute to the wholesome development of the international climate and to the consolidation of peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region.

PRC Cartographers Delegation Leaves Moscow for Home

OW2302080989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] The Chinese State Bureau of Surveying and Cartography delegation left Moscow for Beijing today.

The delegation had been visiting Moscow for the past 2 weeks at the invitation of the USSR Council of Ministers' Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography. The purpose of the Chinese cartographers' visit was to familiarize themselves with Soviet achievements in cartography.

A memorandum was signed at the end of the visit whereby the two sides intend to further their cooperation in this respect.

Northeast Asia

Lukyanov Leads Delegation to Hirohito Funeral

Talks With Embassy Officials

LD2202223889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today [21 February] a delegation from the USSR headed by Comrade Lukyanov arrived in Tokyo. It will take part in the official funeral ceremony of Emperor Hirohito of Japan. Today, too, Comrade Lukyanov met with the representatives of the embassy and other Soviet institutions in the capital of Japan. He spoke about the present stage of restructuring in the USSR, paying particular attention to the course of preparations for the upcoming elections of peoples deputies in March. He replied in detail to questions from the audience.

Meets Japanese Parliamentarians

OW2202141289 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met in Tokyo today with the speaker and president of the two houses of the Japanese Diet. At the meetings, both sides agreed to start a dialogue between their two countries.

First Deputy Chairman Lukyanov is now on a visit to Japan to take part in the funeral for Emperor Showa.

Talks With Takeshita

LD2202190289 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo February 22 TASS—Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is heading the Soviet delegation to the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito, met Japan's Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita Wednesday.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership Lukyanov conveyed condolences over Hirohito's death.

The sides discussed some aspects of the situation in the world and the Asia-Pacific region, and the state of and prospects for Soviet-Japanese relations.

Takeshita spoke highly about the scope of the Soviet Union's new policies which have a favourable effect on East-West relations.

He expressed satisfaction with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in accordance with the timetable envisaged by the Geneva accords.

The prime minister also expressed the hope that the visit by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to China, forthcoming in May, and full normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations would be an important contribution to the stabilisation of the situation in Asia.

Takeshita said the recent visit to Tokyo by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was a remarkable event in relations between Japan and the Soviet Union.

He pointed to the importance of the conclusion of a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty which would make bilateral relations stable.

The prime minister spoke about the significance of regular meetings between representatives of the two countries for discussing all issues concerning a peace treaty, including "difficult" ones.

In his opinion, such meetings would help the sides reduce the distance between their stands. Takeshita cited normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations in this context.

Lukyanov reiterated the Soviet Union's policy of developing good-neighbourly relations and all-round cooperation with Japan on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

He said that there is an objective foundation for this and that Soviet-Japanese relations could be added more dynamism if no insurmountable obstacles are raised in their way.

Both sides pointed to the need to deepen and broaden the political dialogue with the view to achieving specific results, and said it was important that a Soviet-Japanese summit meeting be thoroughly prepared.

On the same day, Lukyanov met Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno, seecretary general of the Liberal Democratic Party Shintaro Abe, and speakers of the chambers of the Japanese Diet Kenzaburo Hara and Yoshishiko Tsutiya.

Agreement Between Two Koreas Said 'Sensational'
OW1802011489 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Commentary by NOVOYE VREMYA chief editor Zalygin]

[Text] Newspapers, publications, and radio and television stations in the Asia-Pacific region have actively commented on the recent visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by a delegation, headed by Chong Chu-yong, honorary president of South Korea's Hyundai Industrial Group. This was the first formal visit to Pyongyang by industrialists from Seoul. Observers held that this is a new milestone in relations between the South and North in the Korean peninsula. Zalygin, noted Soviet journalist and chief editor of NOVOYE VREMYA, has the following comments:

[Recorded in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] Zalygin holds that the event may be a puzzling thing to many countries. However, to the Soviet Union, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and South Korea, it is indeed sensational. In other words, North Korea, and South Korea have reached an agreement on economic cooperation and have agreed to jointly take part in developing projects in the Soviet Union's Siberia and its Far Eastern region. Representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have signed an agreement in this respect with Chong Chu-yong, adviser to the Economic Association and honorary president of Hyundai Industrial Group of South Korea. Chong Chu-yong visited Pyongyang from 23 January to 1 February. His visit to Pyongyang was like an exciting carousel ride. Although it is not very far between Seoul and Pyongyang, Mr. Chong Chu-yong first took a flight to Beijing, thean flew from Beijing to Tokyo, and finally flew to Pyongyang from Tokyo. He stopped over in two countries on his trip. On the one hand, this shows the estrangement between South and North Korea is still quite deep; on the other hand, through this visit to North Korea by representatives of South Korea's economic circles, it also shows the possibility of cooperation between the two sides. The two sides have agreed to build a large tourist center at Mt. Kumgang, which is the most beautiful resort in the Far East and is also a place well-known to the Korean people. Chong Chu-yong himself was born there. Scores of his relatives are still living there. The 38th Parallel has not only separated a country into two parts, but has also separated many families. Therefore, today the Korean people must redouble their efforts to eliminate hostility between the two Koreas. This is very significant to both sides. In my opinion, the development of relations between the two sides will not be limited to jointly building a tourist center at Mt. Kumgang. Chong Chu-yong told representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that he had visited Moscow and that he plans to cooperate with the Soviet Union in developing Siberia and the Soviet Union's Far East region. At the same time, he suggested that North

Korea should take part in the work. The other side accepted his suggestion and signed a related agreement with him. Owing to the fact that people in Moscow so far have not received the full text of the agreement, we are not in a position to comment at this point. However, in principle, the Soviet Union is much concerned about this matter. I think that, when people in Moscow see the document, and after it has been studied by the Soviet Engineering Association, we can actively discuss various cooperation projects. Of course, we must take the interests of all sides into consideration. Currently, we have maintained bilateral economic relations with Pyongyang and Seoul, though our relations with Seoul are still in the embryonic state. However, if we can combine the economic potentialities of the Soviet Union, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and South Korea into one project, it will be a new motive force for us to develop economic cooperation with various countries in the region. I think it will be a concrete contribution to developing multilateral cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region as proposed by Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk. I am convinced that the above-mentioned fresh news in Pyongyang is a breakthrough in this respect.

South Korean 'Sincerity' on Dialogue Questioned

PM2202091489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[V. Ganshin article: "Not Inspiring Optimism"]

[Text] The 1951-1953 war in Korea created many knotty problems, dividing the Korean people with an artificial wall of distrust and fear. The world community's attempts today to find points of contact between ideological adversaries on the basis of the common human criteria of state relations have proved extremely complex on the Korean peninsula. Mutual accusations of insincerity do not promote the formulation of strategic solutions aimed at untying these knots.

However, for the sake of justice, the objective obstacles to these attempts must also be pointed out. Pyonyang is unwilling and, by all appearances, unable to trust its southern neighbor when Seoul categorically refuses to stop military maneuvers that involve the American troops stationed in the south of the peninsula, their subsidiaries at other U.S. bases, and a large quantity of hardware that is far from defensive in purpose. While appealing verbally for constructive bilateral dialogue, the South can hardly seriously expect the North to understand when at the same time it not only calls for the U.S. military presence on its territory to be maintained, but even proclaims the need to increase it with a view to eliminating a supposed "imbalance" of forces.

This was spoken of, in particular, by South Korean Defense Minister Yi Sang-hun. According to him, the program for American-South Korean partnership in the military sphere extends at least through the year 2000 and even for "some time" into the next century. The justification for this "long-term" policy is the desire to "bring the potential of South Korea's armed forces up to 90 percent of the DPRK's military might." This year the American contingent will be increased by 600 servicemen and will total 43,800 officers and men.

Against the background of the DPRK's unilateral steps to reduce its army by 100,000 men and withdraw 150,000 servicemen from forward borders, as well as other well-known initiatives, these statements by the minister of war do not inspire optimism. On the contrary, they give rise to new doubts as to the sincerity of the South's desire to conduct businesslike talks on normalizing the situation in that part of the world.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Reportage on 2d Jakarta Meeting on Cambodia

Talks Previewed, Obstacles Cited

BK1802120089 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1500 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Station observer's commentary]

[Text] The opening of the second Jakarta informal meeting [JIM-2] aimed at solving the Cambodian problem on 19 February is approaching. However, preparations to hold the JIM-2 cannot be described as smooth.

When a Bangkok-based KYODO correspondent asked a diplomat to comment on the matter, the diplomat said it was too early to predict things and that many things may happen before the actual meeting takes place. The situation is changing quickly.

It is indeed difficult to monitor the changing situation. Right now, all those invited to attend the Jakarta meeting—namely the four Cambodian factions, Laos, Vietnam, and the ASEAN countries—have confirmed their attendance at the meeting. However, Prince Norodom Sihanouk has thus far refused to go to Jakarta. In addition, when speaking to Thai newsmen in Beijing on 11 February, Norodom Sihanouk said he had decided to resume the post of president of the tripartite coalition government opposed to the Cambodian government in Phnom Penh. We would like to point out here that Norodom Sihanouk resigned from this post last July as a protest against what he described as armed attacks on his faction by the Pol Pot clique.

It is hoped that the Jakarta meeting will take place despite the fact that certain quarters are trying to create an atmosphere of tension and confrontation. It is no coincidence that the Bangkok press has launched a campaign to discredit Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan's initiative inviting the Cambodian head of state, Hun Sen, to make an unofficial visit to Thailand. Newspapers alleged that this initiative was under fire from ASEAN governments and that it would affect efforts to solve the Cambodian problem. Those who wish to derail the initiative are spreading lies with a view to

prolonging the conflict. They include the Khmer Rouge group, which continues to glorify military might and try to return to power in Phnom Penh. They also include Thai military officers, described by TIME magazine as having close ties with and sharing vital interests with the Khmer Rouge. However, those who criticize Chatchai Chunhawan's initiative belong to the minority and are unable to actually change the situation.

The opposition group in the Thai Parliament has voiced its defense of Chatchai's initiative. Rotchanasathian [name as heard], leader of the Political Action Party, asked reporters rhetorically why we cannot hold talks with those in control of 99 percent of Cambodian territory. The Cambodian problem directly affects us and it is correct for us to make efforts to solve it.

The efforts to involve ASEAN countries in discrediting Chatchai's initiative have also met with failure. A cable sent by President Suharto to the Thai prime minister, saying "I would like to extend my sincere appreciation to Your Excellency's efforts, which will hopefully help facilitate the convening of JIM and pave the way toward the settlement of the Cambodian problem in a fair and comprehensive way," was disclosed in the Thai capital several days ago. In the cable, President Suharto also pointed out that Chatchai's meeting with all Cambodian factions in Bangkok had enabled them to confirm their participation in the Jakarta meeting and resume talks on solving the Cambodian problem.

PRK's Hun Sen Views Prospects

LD2002150989 Moscow TASS in English 1402 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Jakarta February 20 TASS—Kampuchea favours a comprehensive political settlement of the external and internal aspects of the Kampuchean problem, Kampuchean Prime Minister Hun Sen has said. Speaking at the first plenary meeting of the second unofficial meeting on Kampuchea, which opened here on Sunday, he pointed to the existence of mutual understanding on a number of basic issues related to the conflict's foreign aspect and the possibility of reaching agreements on other matters.

At the same time, Hun Sen emphasised that the sides still had major differences over the problem's internal aspects and added that the recent discussions had shown there was no hope for any agreement at the moment.

The Kampuchean prime minister believes the sides should move forward in resolving the external aspects of a settlement, without waiting for internal aspects to be solved. Any delay will only continue foreign interference into the Kampuchean conflict, which contradicts the spirit of the Jakarta meeting, Hun Sen said.

The Kampuchean prime minister confirmed the determination of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos to exert every effort to ensure the success of the Jakarta meeting and advanced specific proposals on settling the international aspects of the Kampuchean problem. He suggested that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea by September 30 should be accompanied by the cessation of military aid to Pol Pot and other oppposition groups and the end of foreign interference in Kampuchea's internal affairs, as well as the provision of international guarantees for preventing the restoration of genocide in Kampuchea and the outbreak of civil war.

It was suggested that a ceasefire be declared along Kampuchea's border with Thailand 24 hours after an agreement on Kampuchea is signed and that an international commission for monitoring the agreement's implementation on the basis of respect for Kampuchea's sovereignty be set up. A proposal was made to convene an international conference on Kampuchea to guarantee compliance with the accords reached.

'Some Positive Factors' Developing

OW2002012489 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to ia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 17 Feb

[Lupanin commentary]

[Text] The second informal meeting of leaders of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK] and the three opposition factions in Cambodia, attended by the foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN countries, will open in Jakarta on 19 February. Those advocating the restoration of peace in troubled Cambodia have pinned great hopes on this meeting. In this connection, our station commentator Lupanin writes:

The first meeting attended by the leaders of the four political factions in Cambodia and the foreign ministers of the Indochinese and ASEAN countries was held in Indonesia in July last year. At that time, the meeting decided to set up a working group to study the possibility of a political settlement of the Cambodian issue. This was a realistic step toward achieving national harmony in Cambodia. The working group has already held two sessions. The ongoing working session in Jakarta is a prelude to another informal meeting on the Cambodian question.

Since the first meeting among Hun Sen, Son Sann, Khieu Samphan, and Sihanouk, various factions have come to terms and continued to make efforts for the restoration of peace in Cambodia. In the fall of 1988, Hun Sen, Prince Sihanouk, and Son Sann, the leader of another faction in the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, held talks in suburban Paris. The various sides agreed to convene an international conference to discuss the Cambodian issue.

At the beginning of 1989, some positive factors to help solve the Cambodian issue have appeared. Vietnam and the PRK have decided to withdraw Vietnamese volunteer troops by September this year if a political settlement is reached. This has drawn a positive response in the international community.

China has held talks with Vietnam for the first time in 10 years. Beijing and Hanoi unanimously agreed that all foreign military aid to the opposing factions in Cambodia including the Khmer Rouge should be completely halted as Vietnamese troops pull out of Cambodia. This agreement is a realistic step toward breaking the deadlock on the Cambodian issue.

The improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations and the efforts made by Moscow and Beijing in mediating the Cambodian conflict are also important factors conducive to a political settlement of the Cambodian issue.

It will be impossible to settle the Cambodian issue without the active participation of the ASEAN countries. Therefore, the visit to Bangkok by Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, aroused widespread attention. Hun Sen and Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan both suggested that the four political factions in Cambodia hold earnest talks in order to achieve national harmony. Hun Sen's visit also shows that the ASEAN countries recognize the existence of the PRK. However, we must not underestimate the difficulties for the current Jakarta meeting.

Not long ago, leaders of the Cambodian opposition gathered in Beijing and once again demanded that the PRK take back its proposal which called for establishing a four-party provisional government headed by Sihanouk. The opposition may propose anything they like, but it seems they did not take one thing into consideration when they made their demand; that is, the relative strength of the various sides in Cambodia. Political power of the people has existed in Cambodia for 10 years now. The people have grown strong and are prepared to defend their rights by all means, including holding talks.

In any case, the current Jakarta meeting will prove to be a major step toward seeking a settlement to the Cambodian issue. We hope that all parties concerned will manifest a sense of political reality and compromise. We wish the meeting success.

PRK's Hun Sen Views Results

OW2202143089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1145 GMT 22 Feb 89

[From "The World Today" program; presented by Valentin Dvinin]

[Text] The so-called informal meeting on Cambodia, which took place in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, was devoted to normalizing yet another regional conflict. In addition to delegations from the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Cambodian opposition forces based abroad, representatives from Vietnam, Laos, and the six Southeast Asian countries making up ASEAN also took part. This is the second such meeting. The first took place last year. Since then, normalization of the Cambodian issue has progressed noticeably. The fact that Vietnam has withdrawn three-quarters of its troops from Cambodian territory and has committed itself to complete the withdrawal by this September within the framework of a political settlement to the problem, played an important role in this progress.

Not all problems have been resolved at this recent Jakarta meeting on Cambodia. However, as Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and head of his country's delegation, stated at a press conference: Important success, although not complete success, has been achieved at the conference. Although profound differences still exist with regard to internal aspects of normalization, he noted that as a result of discussion on all important problems, the spheres of disagreement have narrowed while areas for possible convergence have broadened. Hun Sen appraised the results of the Jakarta meeting as the success of goodwill on the part of all countries in the region. This signifies a change from confrontation to dialogue in an effort to search jointly for a political means to normalize the conflict.

Affirming his readiness to meet with representatives of the opposition at any time and in any place, the head of the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea spoke out for holding the final stage of the informal meeting in July of this year in the same place—the Indonesian capital.

'Disagreements' Viewed

PM2202155589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Review prepared by V. Ganshin in Moscow and B. Vinogradov in Hanoi: "'Roundtable' Meeting"]

[Text] An informal multilateral meeting on the Cambodian problem lasted 3 days in Jakarta's Indonesia Hotel. The first, as is known, was held in Bogor (Indonesia) last July. This time representatives of the PRK, Vietnam, Laos, and three Khmer opposition groups, and also the foreign ministers of the six ASEAN countries—Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines—met around the negotiating table.

Let us remind you that the initiators of the previous meeting were the SRV and Indonesia, which correspondingly represent two groups of states in Southeast Asia—Indochina and the ASEAN.

Great and active preparations preceded the present talks in Jakarta. Its atmosphere, which observers point out was more "amicable" and constructive, was also influenced by such factors as the dialogue which has begun between Vietnam and China and the continuing talks between the USSR and the PRC. The new thinking in politics and the widening diplomatic and business contacts are undoubtedly creating good preconditions for resolving the Cambodian

problem. But the disagreements which still divide the opposing sides and prevent them from reaching agreement also must not be discounted. They manifested themselves in Jakarta this time, too.

The PRK and the SRV, as their representatives declared, advocate the all-embracing political settlement of both external and internal aspects of the Cambodian problem. In the opinion of observers, despite the numerous efforts made by participants in the talks, it is evidently possible to speak only of certain progress in resolving international aspects of a settlement. This includes, in particular, the linkage of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia by 30 September this year with the ending of military aid to Pol Pot's followers and other opposition groups, and also of foreign interference in the PRK's internal affairs and the ensuring of international guarantees to prevent the restoration of Pol Pot's regime of genocide and the unleashing of civil war.

Going into greater detail, it is a question of the political structure of the future Cambodia as a neutral, independent, nonaligned state which will not participate in military blocs and organizations directed against any other countries.

All states that give aid to Pol Pot's followers, the PRK delegation head said, must make a contribution to creating guarantees against their armed return to Cambodia. It is necessary to disarm the "Khmer Rouge," open their secret military dumps, and prohibit them from using refugee camps in Thailand to achieve their aggressive designs.

With regard to international control over the settlement process, the PRK delegation head advocated creating an oversight commission from representatives of six countries. He also called for the convening of an international conference on Cambodia with the participation of the USSR, the United States, Britain, France, China, India, and other states which seek to make a contribution to a settlement.

As for the internal aspects, it is thought hardly possible to count on any agreement among the sides here. The point is that the proposals by the opposition groups, which they see as the basis for resolving internal aspects of the problem (for example, the disbanding of the PRK Armed Forces, the elimination of the existing organs of power, the holding of elections under international control), are, for quite understandable reasons, unacceptable to the government of Hun Sen, whose supporters bore the brunt of the struggle against Pol Pot's rule and of the country's rebirth.

Nevertheless, Phnom Penh believes that the disagreements over these issues must not be an obstacle to settling international aspects of the Cambodian problem and to creating a zone of peace and neutrality in Southeast Asia.

It is generally recognized that the Jakarta talks, which elucidated the positions of the sides, should be regarded as an important and positive step in the process of normalizing the situation around Cambodia.

Self-Determination Emphasized

BK2202124389 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] The second Jakarta informal meeting on solving the Cambodian problem was concluded in Jakarta yesterday, Tuesday. Delegations from Cambodia, the other three opposing Cambodian groups, and from Vietnam, Laos, and the six ASEAN countries reaffirmed in their statement the necessity of solving the Cambodian problem politically with the aim of setting up an independent, sovereign, peaceful, and nonaligned Cambodia. As for the internal aspect of the solution, despite differences among conflicting groups, participants of the meeting said this should be decided by the Cambodian people on the basis of self-determination.

Further Consultations Necessary

BK2302044489 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Station correspondent's report]

[Text] On 21 February in Jakarta, Indonesia, the second informal meeting on Cambodia was concluded. Our correspondent sent from Jakarta a relevant report, the contents of which are as follows:

The participants in the meeting were PRK Council of Ministers Chairman Comrade Hun Sen, the three leaders of the Cambodian opposition, and the Vietnamese, Lao, and six ASEAN foreign ministers.

The SRV foreign minister, Comrade Nguyen Co Thach, considered the just-ended talks a significant success. The chairman of the meeting, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, said at a news conference that the participants in the regional meeting achieved brilliant progress toward an overall political solution to the Cambodian conflict. However, on several important issues, disagreement on the positions of the Cambodian parties still exists—mainly on the internal aspects of the problem—and as a result, they agreed to hold further talks. It was proposed that the representatives of the Cambodian parties inform the chairman of the Jakarta Informal Meeting [JIM] within 4 months about the result of the meeting among themselves. With the result obtained, the JIM chairman will exchange views with all the participants in order to take further appropriate measures.

Comrade Hun Sen, in his address to the meeting, stated: We will certainly be pleased if a political solution is found for both international and domestic aspects of the Cambodian problem. He pointed out that in the framework of a political settlement, the Vietnamese troops will be completely withdrawn from Cambodia by the end of

September this year. The states that have provided military aid and other supplies to the Pol Pot group should contribute to preventing—at all costs—the group's returning to power in Cambodia. Twenty-four hours following the agreed solution to the Cambodian problem, a cease-fire must be observed throughout the country as well as at the Cambodian-Thai border areas.

Comrade Hun Sen also said that it is vital to prevent a civil war from erupting. In this context, concurrently with the Vietnamese troop withdrawal, military aid to the contending Cambodian parties must be gradually reduced, but aid to the Pol Pot group must be cut off immediately, without delay. An international control mechanism should be instituted to verify the processes of implementing the agreement based on respect for Cambodia's sovereignty. The international conference on Cambodia must ensure the application of the agreement reached.

The views expressed by Comrade Hun Sen, although partial, were taken into account in the final statement of the JIM-2. The statement reiterated that the Cambodian problem's two key issues—the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia to be carried out within the context of an overall political solution and the prevention of the recurrence of genocidal policies and practices of the Pol Pot regime—are interlinked to ensure the cessation of all foreign interference and external arms supplies to the opposing Cambodian forces. As mentioned in the JIM statement, relevant measures should be the subject of further consultations.

USSR-Burma Ties, Democratic Struggle Viewed

BK1902101489 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] It was 41 years ago that the Soviet Union and Burma established diplomatic relations. In the following years both countries went through events that had a profound effect on life at home. These incidents, however, never became the source of animosity between the two countries because the two peoples had a deep-rooted affection for each other. It was a friendship that existed between two peoples who had gone through difficult arduous struggles for peace, national liberation, and just relations among governments regardless of the size of the country.

In the past 40-plus years, the two sovereign governments have had similar as well as different views on key international issues. This is, of course, natural. The most important point, however, is that the primary foreign policy objectives of our two countries were guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence among all nations.

The two countries have had diplomatic relations over the past 40 years, and during this period both the Soviet Union and Burma have never violated the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of others—the most fundamental requirement for peaceful coexistence—and this is a priceless practice that will go down in history. The USSR has consistently believed that noninterference in Burma exhibits its loyalty to international norms and is also convinced that any sort of interference in Burma, regardless of however good the intent may be, can never serve the long-term interests of the Burmese people. The Soviet Union has especially respected the national qualities of the Burmese people, such as their national pride, their love for independence, and their self-respect.

The Burmese people were able to expel foreign aggressors and free themselves from the yoke of colonialism because of these national qualities. Again last year the Burmese people extensively exhibited these qualities when millions of them, showing no trace of fear whatsoever, joined the movement for democratic reforms. Although the Burmese people have so far not succeeded in the struggle to establish a new democratic nation, they are continuing that struggle. The Soviet people understand well the aims and desire of the Burmese people. The Soviet people are also struggling for democratic goals, although in an entirely different style and under completely different conditions. They are building the nation through reforms.

From their experience, the Soviet people understand that there can be no easy way out of contradictions, regardless of their severity, when they exist between the old and the new elements. But the Soviet people, who view history optimistically, believe that however things may stand, efforts to build a better future are bound to bear fruit. The profound changes now taking shape internationally are also reasons for optimism. The new political thinking that has emerged from among the many initiatives for peace by the Soviet people has gradually transformed the world political climate.

The Soviet Union has always wished to see Burma as an independent, peaceful, united, and nonaligned country that contributes to world peace and international security as an equal member of the United Nations, because it is on this basis that the Soviet Union has built its relations with Burma. It is our conviction and hope that nothing whatsoever can disrupt or hamper the relations founded on such a basis with Burma.

U.S. Report on Human Rights in Burma Criticized

BK1902135089 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary]

[Text] The U.S. State Department has issued its annual report: The Situation in the Human Rights Field. In this regard, our station correspondent Aleksandr Vladimirov, makes the following observations:

The Administration in Washington is once again pointing its accusing finger at other nations and governments. Among those accused in Asia were Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, and the Philippines. The severest criticism, it seems, was made against Burma. Denouncing the state of affairs in Burma, the U.S. State Department's report alleges indiscriminate killing, torture, and rampant arrests. Listeners in their letters to our station have asked our opinion regarding this problem, and here is our report: The truth is that all nations, including the United States, have their own problems in implementing the lofty principles embodied in the United Nations' Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and this is even more true for the countries in Asia. Faced with difficulties in developing the country because of the bad influence inherited from colonial times, as well as because of an international system that inequitably shares the fruits of man's labor, many governments in Asia must forget about all problems except the ones pertaining to survival and national development.

If such is the situation, does that mean the United States can criticize and make judgment on others by acting as if it alone understands the truth? Under international law accepted by all, only the United Nations has that right. Then by what authority has the U.S. Administration taken that right? The report by the State Department was not meant for internal distribution alone because the Western media has extensively publicized it, including in countries that came under criticism. On the basis of such reports, the United States has often taken economic and political action against nations.

What is the actual consequence of such action? As everyone knows, even before 18 September [the date of the Burma military coup], U.S. officials and spokesmen had been active in commenting about the state of affairs in Burma, and they even went to the extent of calling on the people to resort to all means to attain democracy. Western radio stations in fact played a somewhat deciding role in the ouster of Dr Maung Maung's government. We all know the events that followed then. Hence, careful consideration should be given to what sort of repercussions can result from interference in the complex and rapidly changing affairs of Burma. Some people however do not learn their lessons.

According to the State Department report, the military coup in Burma was a setback to the democratic movement in Burma. Those who are broadcasting and publicizing that report are perhaps trying to tell the Burmese people that all their hopes for democratic rights have disappeared with the coming to power of General Saw Maung's government.

We, however, do not share this opinion. There are political parties in Burma that are winning the trust and support of the people. Despite the restrictions today, these political parties are preparing to run in the elections. Though some leaders of these parties severely criticize the military government, it is apparent from the statements by opposition leaders that they have not given up hope but are only expecting to attain their goals through legal means. In addition, the Gen Saw Maung government has also officially announced that it is willing to stand aside for a legally elected government. It has stuck to its promises and is likely to announce an election date in the near future. The government has also promised to permit freedom of speech, writing, and holding rallies.

The work being done by the Burmese authorities regarding the human rights situation can be reviewed with a proper perspective. There are people in Burma today willing to work in the defense of their people. The protest lodged by the peasant wing of the Democratic Front for National Reconstruction led by Thakin Chit Maung is one such shining example. It called on the regional authorities in Burma to stop violating the regulations concerning the procurement of paddy and punish those who resorted to violence against peaceful peasants.

Daw Aung Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy—organizationally the strongest party in the democratic movement in Burma—has also discussed the struggle for human rights for the Burmese people in her speeches. In delivering a speech in Panglong on Union Day, Daw Aung Suu Kyi said it was essential to struggle for genuine democracy that can guarantee human rights, that it was vital to be loyal to those who had fallen in that struggle, and that all the national people who reside in the Union of Burma should strive utmost for democratic rights to ensure progress and development of their union.

Overall, a great majority of the Burmese people supports and responds to the calls stated above and not to those abroad who aspire to be masters.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Meets With Israel's Arens 22 Feb

Future 'Expert' Meetings Planned

LD2202182489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] The official visit to Egypt by Comrade Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, continues. Listen to what our correspondent, Kim Gerasimov, reports from Cairo:

[Gerasimov] By mutual agreement and with the assistance of the Egyptian Government, a meeting took place here today between Comrade Shevardnadze and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens.

This meeting has aroused great interest among the international mass media. After the talks, which took place in the residence of the USSR ambassador, the ministers replied to many questions from journalists.

Comrade Shevardnadze noted that this meeting had taken place in an atmosphere that made it possible to conduct an open, frank, and honest dialogue. In his words, there had been discussion of almost all aspects of a Middle East settlement. The Soviet side, he said, did not expect that solutions would be found to them. He stressed that it would have been naive to set such a goal. However, the sides reached agreement in principle to continue contacts at the foreign minister and other levels. The next step in this sphere will be a meeting at the expert level. Comrade Shevardnadze called the atmosphere at the meeting businesslike and one of goodwill, which, in his words, was also a step forward. The worst situation, he stressed, is when there is no dialogue at all.

The Israeli foreign minister also expressed satisfaction at the fact that the meeting had taken place. In his words, it is necessary to find ways for each side to set out its views to the other and create the basis for mutual understanding.

Replying to questions from the international press, Comrade Shevardnadze stated that without Israeli goodwill, it was impossible to talk about settling the Middle East conflict. On the other hand, this also is impossible without the USSR. Therefore, in his words, it is very important that there be a permanent dialogue.

After his meeting with Moshe Arens, Comrade Shevardnadze again expressed the thought he has stressed frequently over the past few days during his talks with Egyptian leaders and other Arab figures, that progress in settling the Middle East conflict must be sought through collective efforts.

Shevardnadze Hopeful on Israel-PLO Talks

LD2202210389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1908 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Cairo, 22 Feb (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is in Cairo on a visit, met today with Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens.

At the meeting the dialogue, started by the two ministers this January in Paris, was continued. The situation in the Near East and questions of a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict were discussed.

Eduard Shevardnadze noted that the positive tendencies, which are gathering strength in the world, and the establishment [utverzhdeniye] of the new political thinking in interstate relations, are creating a favorable background for a decisive breakthrough in the matter of a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. At the same time, the continuing tension in the Near East and the continuation of the arms race here are fraught with serious danger, not only for the peoples of the region at issue, but for the entire world.

In the international community, especially after the recent important steps on the part of the PLO, which testify to the realism and constructive nature of its position, a high degree of consensus has come about regarding the fact that the path to a Near Eastern settlement lies through convening an international conference with the participation of all parties to the conflict, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians.

In this connection Eduard Shevardnadze expressed the hope that Israel has not yet spoken its last word regarding its participation in a conference and talks with the PLO, and that it will not oppose itself in this matter to the view of the majority of countries in the world.

The ministers agreed to continue their dialogue on the problem of a Near Eastern settlement at various levels. Already in the near future a meeting will take place between experts for exchanging appropriate information and evaluating the situation concerning a Near Eastern settlement.

Certain issues connected with the work of consular groups were also touched on in the conversation.

Shevardnadze Meets With PLO's 'Arafat 22 Feb

Mideast Conference Discussed

LD2202190189 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Cairo February 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, on a visit to Cairo, met on Wednesday with Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasir 'Arafat.

In an exchange of views, the sides noted that a lasting and fair peace in the Middle East can be established only on the basis of the balance of interests of all sides involved in the conflict.

They discussed measures for preparing an international conference on the Middle East settlement.

The sides stressed the need for invigorating the mechanism of the UN Security Council whose permanent members could assume functions on preparing the conference.

Shevardnadze and 'Arafat expressed hope for evolution in Israel's attitude to the idea of holding an international forum on the Middle East.

Palestinian Uprising Discussed

LD2202221389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1945 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Cairo, 22 (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met with the PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat in Cairo Wednesday.

An in-depth exchange of views on a broad range of issues of the world situation, in particular in the Near East, was held. The conviction was expressed that the new political thinking in world politics, which is winning ever wider recognition, should be applied in full also to settling the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The sides confirmed that, as was stated at the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Yasir 'Arafat in April 1988, a lasting and just peace in the region can be established only on the basis of the recognition of the principles of freedom of choice and of ensuring the balance of interests of all parties involved in the conflict.

Eduard Shevardnadze briefed Yasir 'Arafat on the nature and content of the talks on issues of a Near Eastern settlement, which he had during his stay in Damascus, Amman, and Cairo.

The Palestinian leader gave a high assessment of the Soviet Union's position, which supports the Palestinians' just struggle for their legitimate national rights. He stressed the USSR's initiating role in the process of a Near Eastern settlement and the significance of its constructive influence on the process of establishing a lasting peace in the Near East.

Eduard Shevardnadze called the decisions of the 19th extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council and the actions of the Palestinian leadership in implementing them an important constructive step.

It was stressed that the PLO's clearly expressed readiness to comply with international laws, including UN Security Council resolutions 424 and 338, and the resolute condemnation of all forms of terrorism, testify to its firm intention to try to achieve a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Eduard Shevardnadze noted that the national aspirations of the Palestinian people are reflected in the heroic uprising on the occupied territories and that one cannot but take this into account. The repressions by the Israeli authorities of the civilian Palestinian population are proving incapable of stopping the uprising. This again stresses the unpromising nature and the fallaciousness of the methods of forceful pressure [silovoye davleniye], which are leading the solution of the problem into an impasse and are increasing the pain and suffering of the civilian population.

The colocutors discussed specific measures to prepare for an international conference. In doing so, it was noted that the mechanism of the UN Security Council, whose permanent members could assume the functions of a preparatory organ of the conference, conducting regular contacts with the parties to the conflict, including the PLO, should be made to operate more actively.

Eduard Shevardnadze and Yasir 'Arafat expressed the hope that there would be an evolution in Israel's approach to the idea of holding an international peace conference on the Near East, and that it will cooperate constructively with the UN Security Council in work on preparing this conference.

The parties expressed satisfaction with the state of Soviet-Palestinian relations and with their positive development.

The conversation was held in a warm, businesslike, and friendly atmosphere.

'Arafat Cited on Near East 'Common Market'

PM2302111289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Correspondent A. Stepanov report: "A 'Common Market' in the Near East?"]

[Text] Beirut, 21 Feb—In an interview for the American television company CBS, Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, proposed the creation of a "common market" in the Near East with the participation of Israel, the Palestinian state, Jordan, and Lebanon.

This, he said, would be the main guarantee of an all-embracing, just, and lasting settlement of the Near East problem. Peace, Y. 'Arafat said, is not a piece of paper. Implementation of it requires joint projects, as well as a new "Marshall Plan" for the reigon.

Y. 'Arafat welcomed any conditions that could lead to the restoration of harmony between the PLO and Syria. The PLO chief expressed readiness to sit at the negotiating table for peace talks with Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir. He also said "serious" indirect talks are already taking place between the PLO and Israel. But this statement was immediately refuted by an official spokesman for Israel.

Shevardnadze's Mideast Tour Receives World Praise

PM2202122989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Text] "The USSR's return to the Near East political scene" (the French newspaper LIBERATION). "The Soviet Union's major diplomatic offensive in the Near East" (Britain's THE SUNDAY TIMES). "A very clear signal confirming the Soviet Union's seriousness on the issue of a Near East settlement" (JORDAN TIMES, Jordan). These are the emotional terms in which the world press is writing about USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to the Near East. Officials, who are far more restrained in their assessments, nonetheless also make a positive assessment of it.

President H. al-Asad of Syria and King Husayn of Jordan paid tribute to the Soviet Union's constructive efforts.

Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid declared in an interview with D. Velikiy, our correspondent in Cairo:

"Eduard Shevardnadze's mission will undoubtedly advance the cause of the peaceful resolution of a whole package of regional problems. We view this visit in the general context of the USSR's policy being pursued under the sign of the new thinking. Favorable conditions have now been created for a settlement in the Near East. We in Egypt also hope for the further development and strengthening of our bilateral relations with the USSR."

The Soviet minister's trip is not of a protocol or ceremonial nature but is a truly working visit made possible in the age of restructuring in the USSR. This is the opinion of the Jordanian newspaper AL-RA'Y.

"The USSR's first major Near East initiative for many years acquired additional dynamics when it was learned that E.A. Shevardnadze would meet separately both with the Israeli foreign minister and with PLO Executive Committee Chairman 'Arafat," the U.S. newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES points out.

Y. Shamir, the Israeli head of government, evaluated as a positive event the upcoming meeting in Cairo of the Israeli and USSR foreign ministers. However, according to the same THE NEW YORK TIMES, officials in Tel Aviv are "seeking to belittle the significance of this event, pointing out that Israeli Foreign Minister M. Arens has already met with Shevardnadze in Paris, at the chemical weapons conference. In addition, according to an Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman, they are not particularly enthusiastic about the key provisions of the proposals Shevardnadze is expected to submit."

Nevertheless, Britain's THE TIMES arrives at the conclusion that as a result of the visit, "new hopes have arisen for finding a way out of the Near East impasse."

Situation in Kabul, Rebel-Held Areas Reported

PM2202171989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Afghanistan: On Different Sides of the Barricade"; all quotation marks as published]

[Text] The situation in Kabul, a city of 2 million people, where a state of emergency was declared last Saturday and troops in battle dress took up key positions at road intersections, remains calm, UPI reports.

In the past 24 hours Afghan State Security Ministry personnel have discovered three large arms and ammunition dumps in the Afghan capital belonging to extremist groupings, the BAKHTAR agency reports. A total of more than 200 kilograms of explosives was found, together with dozens of Pakistani-made mines, surface-to-surface missiles, ammunition for large-caliber machineguns, and antigovernment literature and leaflets. According to the BAKHTAR agency report, 23 members of underground organizations have been arrested.

There have been worrying rumors in the city, a TASS correspondent reports, about members of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" and of the formations of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, belonging to the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," having found their way into Kabul. At the same time, as UPI points out, "clashes between government troops and rebels in the environs of well fortified Kabul are very rare."

The Pakistan-based opposition has announced that government posts in the vicinity of the town of Jabal os Saraj have been captured and the Kabul-Hayraton highway, used by convoys bringing food to the Afghan capital, has been blocked. But truck drivers arriving in Kabul in the past 24 hours have said that the situation on the highway is calm and that they had heard neither gunfire nor artillery fire en route.

While the Afghan authorities take steps to feed the inhabitants of Kabul and provide them with fuel, chaos and violence reign in several cities seized by the rebels. The last issue of the U.S. magazine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT published a report by its correspondent from the Afghan province of Konarha.

"The mujahidin entry into the capital of Konarha Province, Asadabad, was not peaceful, although government troops retreated before they arrived, the magazine writes. Broken-down doors, smashed windows, and piles of rubbish are evidence of the scale of the looting and pillage which almost destroyed the city. It is coming back to life very slowly.

"The mujahidin lack of discipline in Konarha and their marauding mentality are causing displeasure among commanders in other areas. Further examples of senseless killing and pillage could considerably hamper the capture of Kabul and other cities in government hands.

"Asadabad is the base for two warring resistance organizations. One of them is a motley alliance of seven opposition organizations with headquarters in Pakistan, better known for suspicion and rivalry than unity. The other grouping is dominated by Afghans with Arab backing.

"The split in the resistance movement could jeopardize the plans of international charitable organizations, including the United Nations, to start extremely necessary restoration work as soon as possible. We are not very happy with what happened in Konarha, one expert from a Western organization giving aid to Afghanistan said.

The West German DPA agency reports: The pillage and looting carried out by armed opposition groups and the ceaseless combat actions in the country are scaring off

many refugees who would like to return home. There are still 5.5 million exiles living outside Afghanistan, Felix Ermacora [name as transliterated], special representative of the UN Human Rights Commission, points out in his report. In recent months, according to his figures, only 102,000 people have returned home from Pakistan and 85,000 from Iran.

Foreign Troops 'Taking Part' in Afghan Combat
LD2002100889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Feb

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Grigoriy Zubkov]

[Text] We will, of course, begin this International Panorama by talking about Afghanistan. It could not be otherwise. The completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal took place at the precise deadline set by the Soviet Union. Not a single Soviet soldier was left on Afghan soil on 15 February. And some Western journalists even maintain that the troop withdrawal ended 5 minutes earlier than scheduled. Well, such heightened interest in the matter is understandable and for us, even those 5 minutes were not excessive. After all, a stray bullet could have hit another of our lads.

Up to the time of withdrawal, 39 Soviet servicemen had died since 1 January this year. All in all, more than 14,000 gave their lives on Afghan soil. They will remain forever in the memory of the country, the people, and each one of us.

The Soviet troop withdrawal is over, but we await news from Afghanistan with concern. How soon will that country gain the desired peace and calm? Will it be possible to implement the national reconciliation program proposed by the Republic's government? What trials must Afghanistan endure to become a nonaligned and neutral state? I won't attempt to answer these questions with any precision. Everything has become confused, too (?exposed), too urgent. Some are predicting the rapid fall of the present government. Others believe it to be most durable. The government itself is acknowledging the errors it has made and there are divergences of views and chasms in the camp of those eager for power.

To this can be added the direct intervention of third countries in Afghanistan's affairs. There are still 125 camps operating on the territory of Pakistan in which military training is being given to detachments of the irreconcilable opposition. Foreign troops are taking part in combat action on the side of the opposition. As before, caravans of arms, ammunition, and military equipment for the insurgents are being sent into Afghanistan. For the moment Islamabad is not changing its policies. [video shows airport scene of troops marching toward and boarding a plane, and crowd of cameramen; APC's crossing the bridge into the USSR, flags on the bridge also shown]

Afghanistan's Future, Ties With Pakistan Viewed
PM1802161089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Political observer Vitaliy Kobysh article: "The Pakistan Factor: IZVESTIYA's Political Observer Has Returned From a Trip to Islamabad"]

[Text] Islamabad, Karachi—Now that the Soviet soldiers have left Afghanistan's territory and the leaders of the seven opposition parties entrenched here in Peshawar and the "eight" who have settled in Iran squabble over how to share what is not yet theirs and brag about the approaching fall of Kabul, the question of Afghanistan's future fate arises; but not Afghanistan alone, Pakistan too. Because the fates of these two countries are so closely interwoven, countries united not only by a common border, religion, and economic problems, but also by a common population—first and foremost the Pushtun tribes, the ethnic majority, living on the territory of both Afghanistan and Pakistan.

I wanted to talk on this subject with Benazir Bhutto, who was elected last December to the post of Pakistani head of government, and to obtain her assessments and predictions.

Unfortunately, the interview did not take place and the opportunity was lost. Not, I am sure, because Benazir Bhutto herself scorned it. Some people did not want her to publicly express opinions at the present stage, least of all to a Soviet newspaper. Who? Many people.

The daughter of the man who headed the country's legitimate government and who was deposed and later hanged by Ziaul Haq, Benazir Bhutto aroused sincere sympathies for this reason alone. After becoming leader of the opposition Pakistan People's Party [PPP], she prepared for the difficult work of rallying this amorphous association, not so much a party as a movement, and formulating a program of action in both domestic and foreign policy. Since under his amendment No 8 to the Constitution, the dictator Ziaul Haq instituted one-man rule until the year 1990, it was expected that new elections would be possible only after that date. Benazir Bhutto and her party were preparing for that time.

Ziaul Haq's death in an air crash on 17 August 1988 caught unawares both those army circles that supported him and their backers. Like any unexpected event, it led to unforeseen consequences. Two, at least.

First, nationalist circles raised their heads in the Pakistani Armed Forces, which here are a state within a state. In recent years they observed with growing dissatisfaction Ziaul Haq's groveling to Washington. There was also dissatisfaction for another reason. For a long time Zia spent the considerable financial aid from the United States (more than $600 million in 1988 alone) not so much on the people's well-being and aid to the Afghan refugees, as on generous gifts for those close to him.

Naturally, those who did not receive their share were not happy. (The latest story about Zia's death is that the explosion on the plane was the work of military men with nationalist leanings who were displeased with him.) In any event, with Zia's death the Armed Forces, while remaining the chief state instrument, changed at least in some ways, which created a new situation in Pakistan.

The second is directly connected with the first. Less than 4 months after Zia's death, elections were held in Pakistan. The PPP finished ahead of the other parties. Benazir Bhutto took the prime minister's chair. To see an attractive 35-year-old woman, who received a fine education in the United States and Britain and is an author of popular books, in the role of head of government is an uncommon phenomenon in the Muslim East.

The vast majority of ordinary Pakistanis received this with hopes of changes for the better; the Army with a condescending, patronizing smile; and Washington, an inevitable participant in any political modifications in Pakistan, with concern verging on alarm. The United States began to devote all the more attention to its direct protege—the special service known as the "Interdepartmental Intelligence Agency," which is in the hands of 100-percent Ziaul Haq supporters headed by General Hamid Gul and is controlled by the CIA.

A fragile balance of three forces that could at any moment be jeopardized by the slightest puff of wind.

What happened was not a wind, but an explosion far more powerful than the one that took Ziaul Haq's life. This was the total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The vast majority of Pakistanis, as well as those mujahidin with whom I was able to talk, greeted this news with the utmost joy. I also saw joy on the faces of the "irreconcilables" as they prepared to storm Kabul and saw themselves already sitting in ministerial chairs. Those who are not so ambitious or perhaps simply think in more realistic terms were rather alarmed by what happened. Yes, they know that according to various statistics 5 million people left their homeland, preferring the possibility of surviving in refugee camps (more than 3 million of them settled on Pakistani territory, though this is former Afghan land that was seized by a grasping neighbor.) Well, war is war, they say. They want to continue profiting from the long, drawn-out tragedy.

The war in Afghanistan against the "Soviet infidel interventionists" and their "Kabul communist henchmen" became, for millions of people in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, and also for a considerable number of international adventurists of various kinds, a profitable business, interwoven, moreover, with a drugs trade on a monstrous scale (Pakistan is one of the world's main producers of drugs). This business looked as if it was secure for a long time, if not forever. The very presence of Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan opened the U.S., Saudi Arabian, and Iranian purse strings wide.

Now, for these poor mujahidin peasants, everything could change drastically overnight. They lack learning, they have no profession, they have never had land and water of their own. Where can they go? Nowhere, except back to work as hired laborers for the same old commanders, outright feudalists with huge lands. But those are the worries and concerns of the poor, the lowest estate. In 10 years of Afghan carnage the poor had in any case begun to wonder: Why should we go on like this? Their commanders and their bosses in the "agency" and the CIA had also begun to think about things: After all, it really is impossible to go on like this; cut off from their land and from daily peasant labor, many millions of poor, hungry people will doubtless create very serious problems for both Afghanistan and Pakistan.

"You cannot imagine what the employment situation is like here. Even among people with higher education (and that is a miniscule proportion of the population), one in six has no work," I was told by Kasim, adviser to the prime minister on political matters (with ministerial rank). "The war, especially with the arrival on the territory of fraternal Afghanistan of the 'Russian infidels' (the premier's adviser is a slim, intellectual man with a slight, rather sad smile on his face) gave millions of people work, daily bread, and even something like a meaning, an aim in life: Usually the most they can count on is to gain a little wealth from drugs. I frankly do not know what will happen now."

In short, it seemed to me that in Islamabad few people have any clear idea how events will develop in Afghanistan. But here in Islamabad, I repeat, there is almost the same degree of uncertainty about the future not only of Afghanistan, but of Pakistan itself.

The peoples of these two states are very close in many respects. The Pushtuns here and the Pushtuns there are basically one people, how can you divide them? But, strange as it may seem, both in Afghanistan and, especially, in Pakistan, chauvinist, great-power ambitions are comparatively widespread. Not long before his death Ziaul Haq openly stated his intention of turning Afghanistan into a satellite state ruled by fundamentalists (an inaccurate term imposed by Western propaganda, it would be more correct to say extremists). "We have earned the right to have a government there that is very friendly to us," Ziaul Haq insisted. "We have been at risk as a front-line state and will not allow a return to the prewar situation, which was marked by considerable Indian and Soviet influence as well as claims by Afghans to our own territory." In sharing his dreams of creating a confederation between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the former dictator could not hold back from expressing his most cherished dream: "Perhaps some day we will be joined by Turkey and Iran, and—why not?—Tajikistan and Uzbekistan."

The author of this statement is no longer alive, though those who were and still are behind him are very much alive. But I did not really want to enter into polemics

with them on this subject. I felt it would be more interesting to follow another path. I asked mujahidin from the most diverse socioeconomic spectrum and from every political estate—from feudal chieftains to landless peasants who had just dropped their "Kalashnikovs"—to express their views. The majority of them rejected this idea sharply, out of hand, as contrary to the Koran and the fraternity that has developed between the Afghan and Pakistani peoples.

I also encountered among the Pushtuns a surprising reaction to the plans expounded by the late dictator Ziaul Haq. Yes, it is necessary to unite, but not under the auspices of Pakistan, I heard them say. We Pushtuns have shed much blood and have earned the right to create an independent, nonaligned, neutral state of Pushtunistan. The Pakistanis know that what is meant by "Pushtunistan" is the creation of a greater Afghanistan, with the return of the Pushtun regions detached from it by Pakistan. The very mention of such a prospect brings spasms to the faces of Islamabad leaders. They are afraid of the Pushtuns. Throughout the 10-year war Ziaul Haq was deliberately weakening Pushtun groupings, setting them against one another, and not supplying them with sufficient weapons and other equipment. The Pushtuns knew they were being passed over, and drew their own conclusions. All this could still have its effect.

For the moment, however, the mujahidin envoys are energetically plying between Islamabad, Tehran, Riyadh, and Abu Dhabi and apparently cannot agree about anything. There is no consensus on anything: The number of representatives of various parties and groupings that should take part in the work of the "shura"—the provisional consultative council; the composition of the participants in the provisional government that the "shura" is to set up; the formulation of political criteria with regard to the "good Muslims" allowed to join the government (can they include PDPA members?); or a united military strategy, especially on the question of who should storm Kabul.

"Look what you Russians have done here," Sayyed Ahmad Gaylani, leader of the "National Islamic Front of Afghanistan," who is considered one of the most enlightened and moderate of the Afghan leaders, said to me. When I observed that the revolution, or, as the mujahidin call it, the coup in Afghanistan was started not by the Soviet Union, but by the Afghans themselves, who obviously did not want to live in the 14th century, and that it is another matter that, as became clear fairly soon, the Soviet Union should not have sent its Armed Forces into Afghanistan, Gaylani responded eagerly: "It should not have done so."

"After all, you have just held a symposium in Moscow on the results of the 1962 Caribbean crisis. I read about it, and everyone, including Americans and Cubans, came to the conclusion that, first, force is powerless, and, second, such crises threaten all mankind. Why did you not hold a symposium like that on Afghanistan before sending in your troops?" the leader of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan asked wistfully, with unconcealed grief. The conversation was frank, and I told my interlocutor bluntly that at that time our leaders, in making such decisions, did not take the trouble to hold symposiums. "But those who made the decision should take the responsibility for it," he insisted. "Yes, they should," I agreed, "and I am sure they will."

He was also very interested in the results of E.A. Shevardnadze's talks, especially in light of the fact that the high-ranking Soviet guest came to Islamabad from Beijing. "Things are moving, it seems. And that cannot fail to affect the settlement in Afghanistan," he said, with a quick glance, full of curiosity, in my direction.

[Kobysh] "We shall see. Much will depend on how long your 'irreconcilables' go on bluffing, when they stop opposing, together with the Pakistani special service, the peaceful transfer of power envisaged in the UN resolution, and also when the United States and Pakistan, which acts on its bidding, start fulfilling their commitments under the Geneva agreements. At present, of the four parties, only two are fulfilling these agreements, the Soviet Union and the Government of Afghanistan, which, whatever you may call it, is still the only responsible central authority in the country."

Gaylani made no reply. He was thinking; he, a highly educated and sensible man, had something to think about. Unfortunately there are very few people like him among the mujahidin: people who think not only about their own boundless domains, but about their people's fate and the future of all mankind.

"So what will happen in the end?" Gaylani asked quietly, as if in spite of himself.

Then I started thinking: This is no time to utter slogans or incantations. "It will be very difficult to resolve all the differences, problems, and grievances that have accumulated over the last 10 years, even if all sides fulfill their commitments and a broad, democratic, representative government is created that will, judging by the Afghan people's sentiments, lead the country along a path of nonalignment, neutrality, and active cooperation with neighboring states. And if these commitments are not fulfilled—and they are not being fulfilled by Pakistan and the United States—and if, for one reason or another, the opportunity to enlist the United Nations, the Security Council, is lost, then I do not know how events will develop." "All the same, how could they develop?" Gaylani insisted.

[Kobysh] "Well, you are a direct descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, you should play the part of oracle."

[Gaylani] "But I want to hear you, a Soviet observer. How do the various possibilities for the development of events look to you from here, from Pakistan?" he insisted. He went on insisting until I assumed the role of oracle after all.

[Kobysh] "But I will tell the truth, the unvarnished truth."

[Gaylani] "That is what I am asking you for."

I gave him my analysis of the development of events in and around Afghanistan on the basis of what I had seen, heard, and understood in Pakistan.

Clearly the most sensible option is what was agreed in Geneva. On the basis of the Geneva accords, a multiparty coalition government is to be set up in Afghanistan, reflecting the interests of all strata of Afghan society. The PDPA and its supporters are an integral part of society. For the period of the formation of the government, a contingent of UN peacekeeping forces is to be sent to Kabul and other strategic centers in the country. The holding of an international conference on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan would also promote the interests of further peacemaking in the country.

"Well, it sounds fine," Gaylani interrupted, "but you know, this plan has many opponents in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, and not only among the mujahidin."

[Kobysh] "I know this plan evokes a vigorous negative reaction in certain circles, and that is very sad, because all the other options involve various degrees of threat both to Afghanistan and to Pakistan and other states of the region."

"What are these options?" Gaylani asks. He asks in a quiet voice, head bowed, but you can tell he is tense.

[Kobysh] "They are bad options, it would be better if Allah did not allow them, but I am afraid that if Pakistan and the United States continue to violate the Geneva agreements, they could prove unavoidable.

"First, mass carnage, with thousands more casualties, and then the formation of a feudal-military dictatorship with outside support.

"Second, no better than the first, a bloody civil war, which, because of ethnic ties and tribal kinship, could easily cross the border and take in Pakistani territory. The very real prospect of escalation of the Pushtun separatist movement, the separation of the Pushtuns from Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the proclamation of an independent state of Pushtunistan. I do not think that will lead to tranquility in your region; on the contrary."

Covering his eyes with his hand, Gaylani listened carefully. "I am afraid your options are too realistic," he said. "All the same, it is good that the Soviet soldiers have left Afghanistan. Only, why did you not take Najibullah with you, it would have been so much simpler then for us to resolve our affairs."

[Kobysh] "Forgive me, I find it hard to agree with that way of looking at it. By withdrawing all its troops from Afghanistan the USSR fulfilled its commitments under the Geneva agreements. As for the present, legitimately elected government of Afghanistan, that is another story. We will continue to give it political and economic aid. If that government does not suit the Afghan people, and please note, I am talking about the people of Afghanistan now, not the CIA and General Gul's agency, then, by using democratic procedures and without pressure from outside, they can demand elections and the formation of a government that suits not the Soviet Union or Pakistan, the United States or Iran, but the Afghans themselves."

We have learned a lesson from the last 10 years, a lesson paid for with blood and suffering. That will not happen again. But in order to guarantee that it does not happen again, it is necessary to understand properly how the Afghan tragedy came into our lives. It is necessary to understand everything thoroughly so that it can never happen again.

Afghan Opposition Groups, Leaders Profiled

PM2202141089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[M. Yusin article: "The Afghan Opposition: Who Is Who?"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Recently the editorial mail has often included letters from readers asking us to tell them about the main Afghan opposition groupings and their leaders. We now fulfill these requests.

One of the main factors tending to divide the mujahidin is religious differences. Approximately 10 percent of the population of Afghanistan are followers of the Shi'ite branch of Islam. The Shi'ite mujahidin parties are based in Shi'ite Iran, receiving aid almost exclusively from that country. As for the stronger and more influential Sunni groupings, they are based in Pakistan (the majority of whose population are Sunnis) and enjoy the military and financial support of the United States, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia.

The seven biggest Sunni parties form the "Islamic Alliance of Mujahidin of Afghanistan" (better known as the "Alliance of Seven"), whose headquarters is in the Pakistani city of Peshawar.

The "Seven" are divided into two wings, and, as the events of recent weeks have shown, differences between them are intensifying. One wing unites four fundamentalist parties. Fundamentalism is a religious-political current that advocates a return to the fundamentals of early Islam and the clearing away of the accretions of later centuries. The fundamentalist groupings belonging to the "Peshawar Alliance" proclaim their goal to be the creation of an Islamic state in Afghanistan.

The other, more moderate wing of the "Seven" includes three traditionalist parties. The members of these groupings call for Afghanistan's return to prerevolutionary forms of rule and support the idea of the restoration of the monarchy in the country, and many of the traditionalists' leaders are supporters of the former king, Zahir Shah.

The most influential of the fundamentalist groupings is considered to be the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (IPA), headed by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. A 34-year-old Pushtun from the north, before the war, as he himself said in an interview for the magazine THE MIDDLE EAST, he studied at Kabul University with President Najibullah.

The IPA leader is known as the most "irreconcilable" and cruel ringleader of the opposition. The press often reports atrocities by his detachments—burnings of schools and killings of teachers. The leaders of the other parties of the alliance treat Hikmatyar with the utmost caution, afraid that at the first opportunity he will use his numerous supporters to seize power. This is also feared by Washington, which hardly wants to see a radical fundamentalist leading Afghanistan.

The United States has recently cut considerably the scale of its aid to Hikmatyar, preferring to back another fundamentalist party—the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" (ISA). Its leader is Burhanuddin Rabbani, a former professor of theology at Kabul University. The ISA is one of the most influential parties in the alliance. Perhaps Rabbani (a fundamentalist, but far more moderate than Hikmatyar, and one who moreover, in many people's opinion, does not reject the possibility of compromise) could become an opposition leader who would suit, to some extent, both wings of the "Seven," as well as their Western patrons. However, there is one "but." Rabbani is a Tajik, a member of an ethnic minority. And the leaders of Pushtun tribes (which make up more than half Afghanistan's population) will hardly agree to that choice.

Another fundamentalist party in the alliance—the "Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan" (IALA)—was formed in 1982. Its leader, theology teacher 'Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, is oriented toward Saudi Arabia, and receives aid primarily from that country. Sayyaf is known for his anti-Shi'ite position. In Afghanistan his party has relatively little influence.

The fourth fundamentalist grouping—Yunis Khalis' "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (IPA)—split from Hikmatyar's party in 1979, because it did not share his "Islamic revolutionary" views. The party is headed by 69-year-old Yunis Khalis, formerly a teacher. Khalis is the only one of the ringleaders of the "Seven" who participates directly in combat operations. His grouping holds more moderate positions than Hikmatyar's party, but is smaller in number. It is based mainly on Pushtun tribes living on the Pakistani border.

The best organized of the traditionalist parties is considered to be the "National Islamic Front of Afghanistan" (NIFA). It enjoys its most support among the 3-million-strong population of the Afghan refugee camps on Pakistani territory. The front's leader, Sayyed Hamid Gaylani, supports the return of the former king. Gaylani is an atypical figure among the opposition leaders. He can often be seen wearing a European suit instead of traditional Afghan clothing. He has relatives in London and New York, through whom he maintains contacts in the West. Until 1979 he was engaged in selling Peugeot cars in Kabul.

The "National Liberation Front of Afghanistan" (NLFA) is the only one of the groupings belonging to the alliance that officially declares itself to be royalist. This party (one of the most moderate) is small in number and has no clear structure. It is headed by Sebghatullah Mujadeddi, formerly, like Rabbani, a theology teacher at Kabul University, and former imam of the Copenhagen mosque. The NLFA leader came from an aristocratic family and enjoys considerable prestige in Afghanistan.

Mujadeddi supports the idea of the return of Zahir Shah, despite the fact that in 1959 he was thrown into prison on the orders of the former king. At present Mujadeddi holds the rotating post of chairman of the "Alliance of Seven."

Finally, the last of the "Seven" parties—the "Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan" (IRMA). This relatively small, poorly organized grouping enjoys influence among royalist tribes in the south of the country. The movement is headed by Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi, a religious figure who, before the revolution, opposed the spread of Western culture in Afghanistan. In the moderates' camp, the IRMA holds positions closest to those of the fundamentalists.

Last Saturday the consultative council (shura) of the Afghan opposition, taking place in the Pakistani city of Rawalpindi, approved Muhammadi's candidacy for the post of president.

The influence of the eight Shi'ite organizations based in Iran extends only to the Shi'ite population of Afghanistan—the inhabitants of regions bordering on Iran—as well as representatives of the Hazara people (about 1 million) living in the center of the country and forming part of the population of Kabul.

All the Shi'ite groupings of the Afghan opposition are oriented to a greater or lesser extent toward Iran. The "Corps of Guardians" party, formed in 1983, is considered to be Tehran's most reliable ally. It was organized on the model of the Iranian "Guardians of the Revolution."

The "Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Alliance of Afghanistan," headed by the comparatively moderate leader Sayyed Beheshti, has recently fallen under the influence of the "Victory Party," which enjoys the full support of the Hazaras living in and around Kabul. This party seeks to achieve a dominant position in the Shi'ite alliance, but is gradually losing Iran's support.

A fourth Shi'ite party, the "Islamic Movement," headed by Shaykh Asef Mohsen, has supporters in the south, in the Qandahar region, and also in the north, along the Afghan-Soviet border.

The four remaining groupings belonging to the "Alliance of Eight" are small Shi'ite parties of local significance.

Wider UN Monitoring Role in Afghanistan Urged

PM2002125189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA political observer V. Matveyev: "The United Nations: Fulfilling Its Duty to the People of Afghanistan"]

[Text] State figures and governments all over the world have been unanimously remarking on the Soviet Union's conscientious fulfillment of its pledges contained in the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. Our last solider left Afghanistan exactly on schedule.

But the Geneva agreements themselves must be implemented in full by all the governments that signed them, including Pakistan and the United States.

The documents that make up these agreements include Afghan-Pakistani accords on noninterference in one another's internal affairs and the voluntary return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan; international guarantees by the USSR and the United States of noninterference in Afghanistan's internal affairs; and a document concerning the fact that all the elements of the political settlement are interrelated. There is also an accord on setting up a mechanism under UN auspices for verifying and monitoring observance of the pledges adopted by the sides.

The latter should be particularly emphasized. The Geneva agreement would not have existed without very active assistance from the United Nations. The very difficult diplomatic process, which was embarked upon on the initiative of the UN secretary general with the backing of interested governments to elaborate the aforementioned accords, lasted 6 years. That was not the end of the UN mission. It acquires even greater significance in the present situation—above all, in terms of promoting the resurrection of the war-ravaged Afghan economy and bringing home at least 5 million refugees who left their homeland.

The fact that the program for UN economic and humanitarian aid to Afghanistan is combined with the mechanism on its territory of verification and monitoring under UN auspices creates the requisite conditions enabling the Afghan people to reinforce their own sovereign efforts to create a peaceful, free life with assistance fronm the world community. This assistance includes what our country is doing on a bilateral basis and through the United Nations. The USSR, as was noted at the United Nations, is the biggest supplier of material aid to the Afghan people.

What do we find now that the last formations of Soviet troops have left Afghanistan? Hardly had this occurred when Washington officials started talking about curtailing to a minimum the mandate whereby the mechanism of verification and monitoring under UN auspices in Afghanistan had been set up and was functioning. They cite financial considerations as the cause: The United Nations is short of funds...

What is happening? When UN representatives were monitoring the withdrawal of Soviet forces there was not a peep from Washington about curtailing UN peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan. But now that the task of ending the fratricidal war in Afghanistan as soon as possible has become particularly acute, U.S. officials want to put an end to the noble UN mission on Afghan soil!

A statement made by President G. Bush the other day on Afghanistan is typical in this respect. It does not mention the UN peacekeeping role in Afghanistan. But Washington confirms its intention to continue supplying weapons to opposition groups in Afghanistan. Instead of extinguishing the fire of fratricidal conflict, it is throwing more wood on it.

The signature of the United States—as well as of the USSR—is on the Declaration of International Guarantees of Fulfillment of the Geneva Agreements. The members of the present U.S. administration must be well aware that they have been far from fully implemented. There is no peace on Afghan soil yet. The bloodshed continues. Refugees in Pakistan and Iran dare not return home.

In short, much remains to be done to ensure that the Afghan people obtain peace and tranquility after much suffering. Particularly important among the urgent steps is the total cessation of outside arms supplies to all the warring sides in Afghanistan. This was proposed by the Soviet Union and is now advocated by certain influential figures among the ranks of the Afghan opposition. In a letter to UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar, representatives of the Afghan United National Front called the other day for the cessation of arms supplies. It is worth noting that while Washington official circles talk

about curtailing the mechanism of UN verification and monitoring in Afghanistan, the authors of the letter urge the United Nations to send troops to Afghanistan to halt outside interference.

Reports that have appeared recently in the Western press leave no doubt that forces seeking to end interference in Afghan internal affairs have become active in Pakistan. On 9 February THE NEW YORK TIMES printed a very disturbing report by its correspondent. Citing what he had heard from the commanders of armed opposition groups operating in the vicnity of Jalalabad, the journalist quotes the following statement by them: "The Pakistanis are putting pressure on us to launch a decisive offensive against Jalalabad..."

How does this behavior by the Pakistani side square with the pledges it has adopted under the Geneva agreements? Do those in Pakistan who are acting in this way not see that Pakistan's own national interests could suffer as a result?

Take the question of the 3 million refugees from Afghanistan on Pakistani territory, a question that worries Pakistan. According to press reports, their upkeep costs the Pakistani exchequer $500,000 per day. But it is not just a matter of economics. Since the refugee population includes brazen narcotics traffickers, the appearance of these "merchants" on Pakistani territory has led to a sharp increase in the number of drug addicts in the country. The trade in weapons is another consequence of the flood of unscrupulous people into Pakistan, using refuge in Pakistan for mercenary purposes. The result has been an increase in terrorism in the countrry.

So a continuing state of conflict in neighboring Afghanistan is not in Pakistan's interests for purely internal reasons, not to mention considerations connected with the security of Southwest Asia as a whole.

The government of the Republic of Afghanistan has now put forward new proposals envisaging the widening of UN verification and monitoring functions in the country in order to end outside interference. It is a matter of setting up special observation posts on the Afghan-Pakistani border. The practical peacekeeping experience of the United Nations is, anyway, of great significance in ensuring that Afghanistan is at last able to acquire peace and tranquility and be master in its own home.

The nonaligned countries, particularly the Muslim countries, have an important part to play at the United Nations to reinforce their actions in favor of an independent, sovereign Afghanistan with practical steps dictated by the situation that has taken shape in the country.

Every responsible state figure and every government in the ranks of the world community must realize what the consequences would be of further bloodshed on Afghan soil. The United Nations has real opportunities to put its great weight behind peace in Afghanistan. These opportunities must not be missed.

Efforts To Release POWs 'Moving Too Slowly'

PM2102104989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[P. Studenikin report under the rubric "Letter With Commentary," comprising letter from N. Shaydanova and commentary by V. Mariya: "Difficult Road Back From Foreign Land"]

[Text] "...The fate of the 'Afgantsy' [Soviet servicemen serving in Afghanistan] who are in captivity is distressing not only to their families but also to many of their fellow countrymen. I have been following the news on this question and have come to the conclusion that although a number of different Soviet organizations are working to some extent to facilitate the POWs' return home, this work is moving too slowly, it seems to me. The time has come to consider what each hour, day, or month of life in captivity costs.

"I believe that the Soviet side should hold talks with the Afghan opposition commanders. In order to ensure that those in captivity are treated better, there must be no penny-pinching. I am confident that if a special account is opened, many of our people will show charity... Can you tell us what the situation now is? What fate awaits the Soviet POWs after our troops have left Afghanistan?

"Respectfully,

"N. Shaydanova, (Irkutsk City)."

We showed this letter to V. Mariya, executive secretary of the Coordinating Committee for the Release of Soviet Servicemen Captured in Afghanistan.

Here is what he said:

Recently there was a working session of the committee that summed up the results of what has been done and set the tasks for this year. Representatives of the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee, the Soviet Peace Fund, the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the "Charity" fund, many other organizations, and the mass media took part in it.

What have we managed to achieve? The 26th POW returned home recently. More than 20 POWs have been sent to America and countries in Europe. Appropriate work is also in hand to secure their return home.

And what is probably most important of all is that the committee's representatives have finally managed to meet with the commanders of several Afghan opposition detachments who have information on the fate of those Soviet POWs left in Afghanistan. We reached an agreement with them whereby they will help us look for them, improve their conditions in captivity, and secure their release.

I should like to note here that we were not and are not the only ones working for the release of our lads. Our military men and diplomats are also working on this.

One final point: Both the committee and the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines have received thousands of letters in which readers propose that a special fund be opened for the ransom of POWs. Such concern and attention are moving, but I must say that there is no need for this: All the financial costs have been borne by the Soviet Peace Fund...

Yes, we have finally reached the long-awaited day: The withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the Republic of Afghanistan's territory was completed 15 February. The only servicemen remaining in Afghanistan now are those who are in captivity.

The Coordinating Committee has issued a special appeal to all those on whom the POWs' fate depends: "Enough blood has been shed, enough children have been orphaned, and there have been enough tears and grief of mothers and widows!" It has urged the governments, political parties, and social organizations of the United States, Pakistan, and Afghanistan—the countries which, with the USSR, signed the Geneva accords on a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan—as well as all those in whom conscience and charity are still alive to do everything possible to promote the earliest release of the Soviet military servicemen languishing in captivity and secure their return home.

The results of the recent Vienna meeting, the appeal says, inspire the hope that the world community will show interest in the fate of the Soviet POWs languishing in captivity in a foreign land. We should like to believe that ultimately a humane and general human approach will prevail over all political and ideological considerations and that their inalienable right to be reunited with their families, homes, and native land will be ensured.

The road home from Afghanistan is not easy for those who have been held captive. I should like to believe and hope that the day is not far off when they will be able to embrace their families and friends again.

Soviet Red Cross President Urges POW Release

LD2002182888 Moscow TASS in English 1758 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—"The conclusion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan removes all excuses and obstacles in the way of the release and repratriation of Soviet servicemen captured by armed oppostition groups in Afghanistan," a Soviet Red Cross official told a TASS correspondent on Monday.

Dmitriy Venediktov, president of the Soviet Red Cross, expressed hope "that positive results will be shortly attained in determining the fate of more than 300 missing Soviet soldiers and securing their early return."

"We will intensify our efforts in order to help out our compatriots," he added.

"There is a weighty justification for the hopes: the entry into force of international law provisions that envisage the immediate repatriation of prisoners after the cessation of hostilities. We have the right to count on their strict observance," Venediktov said.

Describing the effort applied by the International Red Cross Committee in the past seveal years to locate and render assistance to Soviet servicemen who went missing in Afghanistan, he said that the Soviet Red Cross was always in touch with the international body.

"It is clear to all, I believe, how great is the Soviet people's concern over the fate of young lives and how natural is our aspiration to call again for more vigorous actions towards their return.

I have just sent a letter setting out these views to Cornelio Sommaruga, president of the International Red Cross Committee," Venediktov said.

"In our search, we maintain contact with the Red Crescent Societies of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Diplomatic channels are being widely used. Government organisations, public in the Soviet Union and other countries, are being actively involved.

People's sympathy is an effective means to help fulfill this humane mission. 31 former Soviet prisoners of war have already returned home, according to Soviet Red Cross information," Venediktov disclosed.

"We will do everything to enable our people to return home for a heartfelt welcome. I would like to recall the statement made by Soviet Prosecutor-General Aleksandr Sukharev to the effect that all servicemen who return home from captivity and foreign countries will fully enjoy all the rights envisaged by the USSR Constitution," Venediktov said.

"Those who damaged the Soviet state by their unlawful actions will be granted an amnesty," he pointed out.

Release of POWs, Mostly Held in Pakistan, Urged

OW1802053389 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Acting strictly in accordance with the Geneva accords, the last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan on 15 February. By participating in seeking a settlement to the Afghan crisis, the Soviet Union has paid a huge price, that is, the lives of about 15,000 people. Now, as the things that happened in Afghanistan in the past 9 years are becoming clearer and clearer, more and more people in the Soviet Union realize that this sacrifice was too

much and that the sacrifice might not have been worthwhile at all. People are frequently expressing the opinion that the best form to adopt in helping solve the Afghan crisis is aid of the nonmilitary type. The results of a recent poll conducted by this station in Moscow show that 65 in every 100 people hold this view.

The Afghan counterrevolutionary clique has captured some Soviet soldiers. Up to this date, this issue of Soviet prisoners of war has remained unsolved. Doubtless to say, this must have made the people form the viewpoint that the past 9 years marked a period of difficulties and contradictions in the history of Soviet-Afghan relations. As everyone knows, the number of captured Soviet soldiers exceeds 300. The majority of them are incarcerated in secret concentration camps located inside the territory of Pakistan. No one can feel unconcerned about the fate of these soldiers who are kept away from their native land. The Coordination Committee of Soviet Social Personages for the Release of Soldiers Captured in Afghanistan is stepping up its efforts to rescue them. (Vladimir Malin), executive secretary of the committee, just had a telephone conversation with us. He said the committee has drafted a document. In the following, he will introduce the contents of this document for us:

[Begin recording in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] (Malin) said: In our document, we appealed to the governments, political parties, and social organizations, as well as people with conscience and the heart of a philanthropist in the United States, Pakistan, and Afghanistan—which are the countries that joined the Soviet Union in signing the Geneva accords—to offer the best help they can give in rescuing the Soviet prisoners of war and sending them home. The document noted: The result of the Vienna conference held not long ago has brought some hope to us. It showed that the various countries in the world are all concerned about the fate of the Soviet prisoners of war who are kept away from their native land. We believe humanitarianism ultimately will prevail over all kinds of poisonous political and ideological influences, and the right of the Soviet prisoners of war to return home and reunite with their families will be asserted. [end recording]

In my view, the appeal introduced in the above by (Malin) will provoke widespread response. It should be noted that many people are worried about the condition of the Soviet soldiers being held by the Afghan opposition. This was mentioned by (Liestorugai Alyavansa), member of the Presidium of the WPC and noted social activist in Sri Lanka, when he was interviewed not too long ago by a reporter of this station. The following is what he said:

[Begin recording in Sinhalese fading into Mandarin translation] The issue of Soviet prisoners of war captured by the Afghan opposition and now incarcerated in Pakistan is a close concern for not only the Soviet people, but all peace-loving people as well. We hope the present Pakistani Government will abide by the statement made by President [as heard] Benazir Bhutto to stop interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. We also hope that the Soviet soldiers will be released from jail and allowed to return to their homeland. All social organizations in the world are appealing to the Afghan opposition that the prisoners of war be given their freedom and an opportunity to return home. I now join them in making the same appeal. [end recording]

(Liestorugai Alyavansa) also pointed out: What makes the WPC deeply worried also is the question of how to deal with the central task in the settlement of the Afghan issue, that is, the task of realizing national reconciliation. Just a moment ago, the teletype transmitted an appeal made by the WPC to the governments of various countries, which proved what (Alyavansa) said. The WPC appeal called on the governments of all countries to do all within their power to help put a stop to the bloodshed over the land of Afghanistan. The WPC appeal also noted that it would be in accord with the interests of the Afghan people if there is an immediate ceasefire, if all kinds of foreign military assistance are stopped immediately, and if Afghanistan is instead provided as much economic aid as possible through the the United Nations.

Indeed, the only way for the situation in Afghanistan to stablilize is for national reconciliation to be realized. This is the firm conviction held by the people in our country. We now ask (Mikhail Vishinskiy), Soviet member of the Presidium of the AAPSO and noted lawyer, to introduce the position of the Soviet public.

[Begin recording in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] (Vishinskiy) said: Today's reality makes it very clear to us that the Afghan issue cannot be solved with military means. The only way to bring about a political solution to the Afghan issue is to establish a government on a broad basis that is represented by all opposing factions. This is the basic idea commonly held by the people. At the 43rd Session of the UN General Assembly, representatives of various countries in the world were unanimous in their approval of this idea. However, to achieve this, all countries, Afghanistan's neighbors in particular, must make efforts. It should be noted that a stable situation in Afghanistan, a nonaligned Afghanistan and nonmilitariization of the country would all be good for Afghanistan. [end recording]

In conclusion, I would like to point out that the Afghan people are at a turning point. A historical period has just ended, and another period is starting for them. As the situation in that country develops, we will continue to analyze the various kinds of problems inside Afghanistan and in its surrounding areas. Our dear listeners, we believe your letters will be useful for us in this respect. Please write to tell us about your views on the situation in Afghanistan and in the entire region. Our address is: Radio Peace and Progress, Moscow, the Soviet Union.

Situation 'Secure' in Afghan Province of Balkh

PM2102122589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[Report by A. Karpushin: "A Secure Post. Interview With the Governor General of the Afghan Province of Balkh"]

[Text] "Compared with the other provinces of Afghanistan, Balkh has a unique position," Massir [name as transliterated], governor general of the province, said. "Although our province is one of the most economically developed, there have never been Soviet garrisons in it. Not until recently, at the final stage of the withdrawal of forces, did a Soviet battalion appear near the airport. All these years the province has been relatively calm. Only rarely have indvidual gangs from remote mountain districts tried to get nearer the city. Only on a few occasions have there been rocket attacks on the city, although we are currently taking certain steps to strengthen security. In recent days, in addition to the military security posts which stand mainly on the highways around Mazar-e Sharif, we have deployed a further 45 security posts manned exclusively by party members. The security measures are not in vain. The last serious incident in the city—an explosion near a movie theater—was 2 months ago."

Since then the city has been quiet, Massir noted, suggesting a tour of the city. This had not happened on my past visits to Mazar-e Sharif. We walked all over the city and explored every nook and cranny of the "Mandai" [name as transliterated] bazaar whence Western journalists have returned laden with purchases, mainly traditional Afghan carpets.

Among those who are maintaining peace and tranquility in Mazar-e Sharif is the tribal regiment set up by the well-known Afghan businessman Rasul Barat [name as transliterated]. The regiment is commanded by Barat's military aide, Captain Sepakhi Bakhauddin [name as transliterated], who served for 22 years in various subunits of the Afghan militia. He met with us at his regiment's base.

"There are 680 people under my command," Bakhauddin said. "Organizationally, we are part of the system of tribal formations under the Ministry of the Interior, which has given us firearms, machineguns, and armored carriers. We are mainly involved in guarding very important economic facilities in Mazar-e Sharif. They are the bakery, textile and carpet enterprises, and factories processing raisins, wool, and cotton. We have had minor smirmishes with the opposition, from which we have emerged victorious. They shun major clashes with us. Clearly our regiment's prestige is a telling factor. In fact, all our soldiers are experts at handling their weapons, and many of them have had tours of duty with Soviet regiments."

"I have only served my people. I consider this my supreme achievement," he told us as we parted. "Over the years I have earned neither orders, nor medals, nor even my own home. But that is not the main thing. I have earned the thanks of a multitude of ordinary Afghans whom I have been able to help in their hour of need. And I have always regarded a peaceful sky above Afghanistan as the best possible roof for my house. I am now doing everything I can to ensure that peace comes."

We also visited a nitrogen fertilizer plant 30 kilometers from Mazar-e Sharif. There used to be a large number of Soviet specialists working there, who, in fact, took charge of everything. It was suggested that without them the plant would stop working.

"As you can see," Faiz Mukhammed [name as transliterated], head of one of the shops, who accompanied us on our tour of the plant, said, "Afghan engineers are doing a pretty good job themselves, having taken on the experience of their Soviet colleagues. We are getting gas, the plant is operating, and it is still providing high-quality products. By the start of the sowing season, when the peasants are going to need fertilizers, we will greet our clients with warehouses stuffed to overflowing. Of course, there have been some difficulties and problems which we would have been able to tackle much more quickly and successfully with the help of Soviet specialists. We hope the Soviet comrades will come back soon."

Our stay in northern Afghanistan was coming to an end. It was time to return to Kabul: An Afghan An-32 military transport aircraft from the Afghan Interior Ministry was already waiting at Mazar-e Sharif airport to take our party of journalists back to its permanent base.

On approaching Kabul I immediately recognized places I had visited many times—Jabal os Saraj, Charikar, and Bagram. All the journalists were alarmed as they looked down to see a battle in progress in the middle of the valley between Bagram and Charikar. The shell bursts were clearly visible. The aircraft flew across a small mountain ridge and began to descend toward Kabul.

The capital was unusually quiet. On the day we flew out of Kabul Airport, Il-76 heavy transport aircraft had been taking off one after another taking Soviet servicemen home. Silence had descended. No explosions, no gunfire; only the rare nocturnal gunshot from distant security posts: Either shooting at a suspicious noise or simply giving one another encouragement.

The city's chief problem is a shortage of fuel. Although gasoline has now started to arrive, stocks have completely run out in recent weeks at the city's oil depot and the Kabul authorities have made the decision to first replenish them, and only then put fuel on general sale...

Rushdie Controversy Impedes Iran's Ties With West

LD2202212189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1430 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Relations have worsened to a great extent between Iran and some Western countries. The reason behind it all is Iran's reaction to the publication of British novelist Salman Rushdie's book "The Satanic Verses," which is considered by Iran's clergy to be blasphemous toward God and Islam in general.

Iran's spiritual leader, Ayatollah Khomeyni, has called for the execution of the author of such a book and has announced a bounty of more than $4 million for whoever carries out his edict. In response to this call, the British Government decided to freeze relations with Iran. French Prime Minister Michel Rocard said he shares the world's overwhelming anger over Iran's threats against Rushdie, which also have been strongly condemned by the United States. Netherlands Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek cancelled his official visit to Iran in protest over Ayatollah Khomeyni's pronouncements. In addition, the participants in the Strasbourg session of the European Parliament have threatened Iran with punishment.

It should be said here that such developments run contrary to the noticeable rapprochment between Iran and Western countries following the cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq battlefront. It is known that diplomatic relations between Iran and France were restored recently, and it also had been planned, after some simple formalities, to exchange diplomatic missions between Britain and Iran. In addition, there were signs that the Iranian and U.S. presidents were ready to begin political talks on topics of mutual interest. However, this turnabout has been reversed in the direction of deteriorating relations.

What is the goal behind their instability? Western countries see the reason behind all this as the unwise behavior of the Iranians, which is contrary to the standard of international relations. Some papers in the West think that such behavior can be explained. They have been reporting that most of the demonstrations in Tehran and other Iranian cities supporting Khomeyni's call to punish Rushdie had been well planned by some Iranian religious circles that are using this call for respecting Muslims' insulted feelings to consolidate their positions, which have been shaken as a result of the bloody, futile and prolonged Iran-Iraq war.

It appears that there is some truth in this claim. However, as we may imagine, it looks like some truth also lies behind the fact that Western information organs do sometimes publish articles touching on the Islamic world's sensitive topics and values, insulting Iran's religious feelings and the feelings of Muslims in general. The problem lies, furthermore, in the current policies of some Western countries that have not rid themselves of arrogance and discrimination against Iran, which has suffered in the past from the noose of Western economic hegemony, as well as direct aggression. However, Iran's reaction has been conjectural and negative toward all manifestations of insult [words indistinct].

We hope that the leaders of Iran, as well as the leaders of the West, will take all the necessary steps to remove the political crisis brought about by publication of "The Satanic Verses." The development of events should never be allowed to dangerously escalate world tension. The two sides should consider that the author of this book has himself apologized to those whose religious feelings have been insulted. On the one hand, some publication houses in West Germany, France, and Italy have taken the emerging situation into consideration and have decided not to publish this book. On the other hand, some Muslim countries have not supported Iran's stance, despite the fact that they considered Salman Rushdie's book as against Islam and demanded an end to its publication.

It should be said here that exasperated and complicated issues have been developed in the relations between Iran and the West. Also, some monopolies, companies, and banks in France and the United States are trying to embezzle Iranian assets and keep the economic sanctions imposed by the United States against Iran, as well as keep their military fleets in the Arabian Gulf. Yes, the lingering scandal over "The Satanic Verses" will not lead to the resolution of such problems.

Full Soviet-Saudi Relations Should Be Resumed

LD1902103189 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Commentary by (Andrey Ostalskiy): "The Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations Between Moscow and Riyadh"]

[Text] The international press often writes about Soviet-Saudi relations, expressing in particular the view that diplomatic relations between the two states will be restored in the near future. This is not correct, despite the fact that two embassies, one Soviet and the other Saudi, have not functioned in the capitals of the two countries for well over half a century.

Officially, however, diplomatic relations have continued; no one has broken them. So it is that the 63d anniversary of establishing diplomatic relations has arrived. The history of Soviet-Saudi relations dates to December, 1922 when official contacts were established between Georgiy Chicherin, the USSR people's commissar on foreign affairs and the representative of Hijaz in the days of the Lausanne Conference. These contacts continued in Rome, and resulted in an agreement to exchange official representatives. In August 1924 the well-known Soviet revolutionary militant and diplomat Karim Hakimov presented his credentials to the King of Hijaz King Sharif Husayn. After 2 months, the Hijazi envoy Hamid Lutfallah arrived in Moscow.

In Jeddah, the Soviet General Consulate and the bureau of (Vostok Inter)—the organization that established active relations with Hijazi merchants—were opened. This experiment was successful and fruitful to both sides; relations continued to grow steadily. In February, 1926 full diplomaic relations were established. After less than 4 years, the Soviet General Consulate in Jeddah was transformed into a Soviet Union mission.

One must say that the moral, economic, and political support [words indistinct] in the history of Saudi Arabia helped the Kingdom strengthen its independence and

make the Western powers end economic boycott policies and gross interference in its domestic affairs. Relations with Saudi Arabia were important to the young Soviet state because they helped the growth of its international influence in the countries of the east.

However, the Soviet Government was compelled in May 1938 to indefinitely withdraw its mission from Jeddah. This was because Moscow reduced the network of its diplomatic and consular missions in the countries of the outside world. Re-establishment of full relations was never resumed. Nevertheless, the question of Soviet-Saudi relations (?has occupied) a great deal of space in the international and Arab press.

The development of political events and the developments in the Middle East and the world have projected the need to normalize these relations, so they should be fully re-established. Due to its awareness of Saudi influence in the Islamic world and in the international arena, Moscow recognizes the great role of Saudi Araia in Middle East affairs. On the other hand, official representatives of Riyadh have frequently noted the importance of Soviet policy in Middle East Affairs and the importance of Soviet participation in the process of political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Iran-Iraq conflict.

In recent years, active political contacts have been occurring at various levels. In these circumstances, the absence of the two diplomatic missions in the two countries' capitals has become something contrary to the requirements of the time. This question has become quite clear, particularly against the background of positive changes in the world climate generally and against the background of the decrease in tension and confrontation between states with different social systems and the development of international cooperation.

Our country has given a new impetus to these positive processes, and the policy of new thinking is proceeding successfully and in particular in the Middle East.

In a short period of time the flags of the two countries will be raised in the capitals of the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia.

Cairo Forum Discusses Soviet-Arab Ties

PM2102104189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Vasilyev: "The Arabs and Us. Dialogue on the Prospects for Cooperation Between the USSR and the Near East Countries."]

[Text] Cairo-Moscow, February [no date as received]—"The Arabs and Us" could be called the theme of a meeting held recently in Cairo. Together with the Egyptians it was organized by the Forum for Arab Thought, from Amman, and the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With Asian and African Countries.

The discussion centered on the most topical questions. How do Arab countries regard our restructuring, glasnost, and the new political thinking?

The "enemy image" of the Soviet Union created over decades by unscrupulous anti-Soviet propaganda and by certain unsuccessful political actions on our part had to be gradually broken down in the West. Yet a firm "friendly image" of the Soviet Union is imprinted in Arabs' mass consciousness.

Starting with the postwar period, who fought with the Arabs for the independence of Sudan, Algeria, Morocco, South Yemen, Tunisia, and the shaykhdoms of the Persian Gulf? Who advocated elimination of the foreign military bases that covered the land from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf like a rash? Who helped strengthen the Arab countries' combat capability in order to repel Israel's expansionist plans? Who supported the rights of the Arab people of Palestine? Who helped the Arabs in economic construction?...

One could go on and on. Of course, there have been ups and downs, incomprehension, and unevenness in Soviet-Arab relations, because we were starting virtually from scratch. We were so different that we almost didn't know one another. But new horizons are now opening up for Soviet-Arab cooperation.

After the initial hesitancy, the new political thinking has met with an ever-increasing response in Arab countries. That is understandable. The priority of common human values is meeting with ever-increasing understanding in a situation of protracted military conflict. It is not only a question of the Israeli threat. Were not all Arab capitals within range of the U.S. missiles located in Sicily, which are now being dismantled? Wasn't the danger of nuclear war in neighboring Europe terribly close to the Arabs? Wasn't the U.S. nuclear alert during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war a dramatic reminder of the unpredictable possible consequences of regional conflicts? Hasn't the ecological catastrophe in sub-Saharan Africa already had an adverse effect on a number of Arab countries, putting the resolution of global tasks of environmental preservation on the agenda?

Crown Prince Hasan of Jordan described what tremendous attention people throughout the world are paying to the great transformations in the USSR and what an impact they are having on the life of the countries in the Near East region. In his opinion, the USSR's new political course has imparted a common humanity to the USSR's foreign policy. He noted that the new Arab approaches sometimes coincide with the spirit of restructuring and glasnost that is characteristic of the Soviet Union.

Addressing the participants in the Soviet-Arab dialogue in Cairo, Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismat 'Abd al-Majid pointed out the agreement between Soviet and Egyptian positions on questions of disarmament and the creation

of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world and welcomed the Soviet-U.S. agreement on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. The Arabs have a high opinion of the USSR's support for the Palestinians' just cause, he continued, indicating that Soviet-Arab relations can develop broadly through parliamentary, party, economic, and scientific ties.

The revolutionary restructuring in the USSR has provoked diverse and often diametrically opposed attitudes from various political forces. Both the enemies and the supporters of socialism are following it carefully. No one is merely indifferent to it. Even rightists are forced to acknowledge the attractive force of the new political thinking, which is broadening the base for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Arabs, although it is by no means weakening the USSR's close and intimate ties with the states where revolutionary democrats are in power. At the same time, this does not prevent rightists from repeatedly making assertions regarding the "crisis of socialism and Marxist ideology" and the "unacceptability of Marxism and socialism" in Arab society.

As if in response to them, Al-Tijani al-Tayyib, one of the leaders of the Sudanese Communist Party, wrote the following: "Self-criticism in the USSR means self-cleansing and progression. Restructuring is a stage of development. There were mistakes and negative phenomena in the USSR's history. They are now being rectified and overcome. Isn't that the sign of a healthy society?"

Let's be frank: The new ideas in Soviet foreign policy have confused some of our traditional close friends—the representatives of revolutionary democrats, communists, and other left forces. "How does class struggle correlate with the priority of common human values, the struggle for mankind's survival, and pooling of efforts in resolving global problems? Doesn't the development of relations with the West mean that the USSR is renouncing cooperation with the Nonaligned Movement? Doesn't the course of settling regional conflicts entail withdrawing support from national liberation movements and the struggle to strengthen the peoples' security? Soviet participants in the Cairo forum were asked these and other questions. Left, right, friend, and enemy of the Soviet Union are discussing them.

The Soviet Union's concrete policy in the Third World and, in particular, the Near East provides the answers. The Soviet Union advocates settling regional conflicts by political means. Its actions with regard to the Near East conflict include its efforts to convene an international conference and elaborate measures and concrete actions to replace confrontation with dialogue and compromises based on balancing of interests. The principles of a Near East settlement proposed by the USSR (there is no room to expound them here—they are widely renowned) correspond both with the peoples' right to self-determination and to choose their own path of development and sociopolitical system and also with the tasks of considering the interests of all the protagonists in the Near East drama and the legitimate (precisely the legitimate) interests of other powers, notably the USSR and the United States.

The USSR has helped achieve unity in the ranks of the Palestinian resistance movement, welcomed the Palestine National Council decision to create a Palestinian state and the beginning of dialogue between the PLO and the U.S. Administration, and expressed solidarity with the Palestinians' uprising in the occupied territories.

At the same time, the Soviet Union acknowledges Israel's right to exist and is prepared to take part in international guarantees ensuring the security and inviolability of its borders in accordance with the future decisions of an international conference on the Near East.

Of course, one can assume that the positions of the sides—in this case the Arab countries and the USSR—do not fully coincide, notwithstanding their friendly sentiments toward one another. But any ideal agreement of positions only exists on paper. In real life, both people and states must take one another's positions into account, respect them, and find mutually acceptable solutions.

We and the Arabs are going through a period where we are, as it were, getting to know one another again, broadening the platform of our cooperation, abandoning outmoded forms of cooperation, and seeking new ones. Presumably there will be far fewer slogans and exhortations in the future and more action.

The Soviet Union and Arab countries need one another. They need one another politically. The new political thinking is being introduced into international relations, but it has by no means become prevalent. The struggle to establish it lies ahead. We and the Arabs are allies. Yes, allies—I am not afraid of this word—in the struggle to establish a nonviolent, nuclear-free world, to resolve international conflicts, especially the Near East conflict, by political means, to jointly solve global problems of environmental protection, to overcome backwardness, and to ease the burden of debt. The joint struggle for nuclear disarmament and mankind's survival is directly affected by the Near East conflict, which is poisoning the international situation.

We need one another economically. The geographical proximity and continental scale of both the USSR and the Arab world "condemns" us to mutually beneficial cooperation. The Arab countries hold a major place in the Soviet Union's foreign economic ties. Suffice it to say that the 15 Arab countries of the Near East and North Africa account for one-fourth of the USSR's cooperation with developing countries. There is a basis for future cooperation. But its present scale is less than the potential capacities.

The Arab countries are a weighty and influential participant in international exchange especially in oil production, processing, and export. The Soviet Union is the world's largest oil-producer, although its share of world exports is only 3-5 percent, excluding deliveries to socialist countries. Soviet-Arab coordination and mutual support aimed at preserving stable prices and preventing the disorganization of the world oil market is possible. Appropriate measures have been taken in the past and are necessary in the future.

The technological level of Arab countries and the Soviet Union in oil processing and the production of a broad range of petroleum products makes it possible to talk about constructing joint enterprises and developing technologies. Both we and the Arabs have accumulated tremendous experience in this matter both in organizing production and in financing and marketing output.

Under the conditions of the economic reforms in the USSR, individual enterprises have obtained the right to trade independently on the market, which is opening up opportunities for unorthodox solutions in economic cooperation. Joint Soviet-Arab enterprises on the territory of both the USSR and Arab or third countries and participation in creating free-enterprise zones in the USSR—these are the preliminary outlines of future new forms of cooperation. We have fallen behind in this matter: A large proportion of Arab free capital in the form of "petrodollars" has already been swallowed up in the Western finance and credit system. But opportunities do exist.

Egyptian economics professor 'Isam al-Din Khalil pointed out in the course of the Soviet-Arab dialogue that we need to exchange achievements in the sphere of information technology and cadre training and to set up joint bilateral projects for developing new technologies and joint projects for exporting to third countries.

Before leaving Cairo I met with Salah Basyuni, Egypt's former ambassador to the USSR, who did a great deal to normalize Soviet-Egyptian relations. He has retired and is employed in a private business. His ambitious plan is to mobilize Arab capital—$100 million—to open a "Sheraton" Hotel in Moscow as the next link in a worldwide chain of top-class hotels. Without predicting Soviet economic departments' reaction to his idea, I wholeheartedly wished him success.

East Europe

Yugoslav Party Renewal Process Viewed

PM2202114389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[V. Kuznetsov dispatch: "Justifying Trust. One-Third of LCY Central Committee Membership Changed"]

[Text] Belgrade—The pulse of political life in Yugoslavia has appreciably quickened. LCY Central Committee plenums are convened one after the other, sometimes at intervals of only 24 hours. The sharp-tongued Yugoslav press has dubbed them "marathons" because of their many days of work but has by no means described them as "historic" or "crucial." There is still a long way to go before a radical turnaround, a TASS correspondent in Yugoslavia told the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office, but the first steps, as they say, have now been taken: Yugoslav Communists' pressing tasks in overcoming the extremely unfavorable situation in the country are being elaborated; the methods and forms of implementing the outlined reforms in the economy, the political system, and the party itself are the subject of stormy debate; and attempts are being made to reduce to a common denominator the profound differences between the individual republics and autonomous provinces in their approach to removing stagnation phenomena in society and curbing the hyperinflation.

It is time, as they say, to dot the i's. The LCY has started by putting its own house in order. The recent 21st LCY Central Committee Plenum took an important step forward in transforming the party. It is effectively a question of reforming the party; the basic areas of this reform were defined at the 13th congress (1988) and the LCY Conference (1988). The "reconstruction" of the Yugoslav party and its 2 million members is regarded as the necessary precondition for improving the economic and political systems and the requisite condition for bringing to fruition the reforms that have been mapped out.

TANJUG pointed out that the LCY Central Committee Presidium has "grown considerably younger." The average age of its members is now 42. The February plenum met the request of Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, who put in a written application to be relieved of his duties as member of the LCY Central Committee in accordance with the principle of separation of party and state functions. This was the first case in the party's postwar history of the head of the Yugoslav state's collegial organ not being simultaneously a member of the Central Committee. The decision adopted by the forum stressed that henceforth the president of the SFRY Presidency "could not be a member of the LCY Central Committee."

One-third of the members of the party Central Committee have been renewed—which, moreover, does not contravene the provisions of the LCY statute. A total of 44 Central Committee members have been replaced. Young, vigorous people with a burning desire to extricate the country from its 10-year economic crisis have entered the Central Committee. Workers in central and local organs of state power, leaders of sociopolitical organizations, and people who have been elected to the Central Committee many times over have been removed. A number of Central Committee members were relieved of their posts for health reasons. Four representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina organization who—in circumvention of the law—constructed fashionable villas in Neum on the shores of the Adriatic,

were expelled from the Central Committee for abandoning the Communist's moral outlook; they include Milanko Renovica, former chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

"At present," the weekly NOVOSTI-8 wrote, "a wave is rolling across the LCY, sweeping once famous politicians off the political stage."

The LCY has embarked on an open struggle to carry out long overdue transformations within the party and society. "The party spent too long at the crossroads," DNEVNIK stressed, "and it is losing working people's trust. The time when party organs and their leaders were above criticism has passed into oblivion."

There are weighty reasons for sounding the alarm and expressing serious concern at the future of the upcoming economic reform in the country and the reform of the country as a whole, inasmuch as the negative trends developing within the economy, politics, and society are provoking sharp discontent among working people.

What is the origin of the complex situation in the SFRY? Primarily the grave economic situation, in particular in Montenegro, Macedonia, Kosovo, and many of the other republics' and provinces' economic organizations. Another source is the failure to fulfill the aims and tasks of the program for combating inflation and galloping price increases.

The grave economic situation that has taken shape in the Yugoslav economy has brought to light and revealed all the weak points of self-management principles in the sphere of production. The 18th successive meeting of people involved in self-management (it takes place once every 2 years) held recently in the city of Kragujevac graphically showed that SFRY legislation still contains too many vague points and misunderstandings on such points as economic management-self management and labor organization-performance. "Self-management loses its head" in the vast stream of normative acts drafted by the bureaucracy, and laws that change with every year bring "confusion and chaos" in the work of economic organizations.

Many millions of Yugoslavia's working people ask how can this be: When the party has made an accurate diagnosis and the right treatment is being applied, yet the condition of the country is deteriorating. It is true that the LCY is today being tested for its political maturity and is beginning the consistent struggle to step up political responsibility in all party organizations from top to bottom, effectively resolve workers' and employees' day-to-day problems, and to ensure economic reform and the successful activity of all institutions of political power. But it is also true that at present Yugoslav Communists are not, as they say, keeping pace; they proceed in an uncoordinated manner, and talk rather than concrete action still prevails. At present, according to NARODNA ARMIJA, "a battle is under way for federal, self-managing, socialist Yugoslavia, and we certainly must not set out on the path of schism and confrontation."

The LCY Central Committee Plenums held in January and February have beyond any doubt constituted a major event in the political life of the party and the country. "Only new people can justify the trust of the working class"—that is the demand of ordinary Communists, who are insisting on the qualitative renewal of party ranks. This complex and contradictory process is gathering momentum every day. The LCY is resolutely ridding itself of hangers-on, opportunists, careerists, people serving petit-bourgeois ideology, and unbridled nationalists. Restructuring Yugoslav-style has affected the entire party, which is casting aside the decrepit shelter of passivity, formalism, and irresponsibility. In short, the LCY has, so to speak, entered the fight, abandoning the monopoly on truth and clearly heeding the opinion of the working class and the broad circles of the country's public.

Rushdie Novel Banned in SFRY After Threat

NC2302120189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] The publication of "The Satanic Verses" by Salman Rushdie has stopped in Yugoslavia. After threats were made by unidentified persons, the decision was made. The termination of the publication of Salman Rushdie's book coincided with the arrival of a high-ranking Iranian delegation to Yugoslavia.

Results of Hungarian Debate on Party Plenum Viewed

OW2002121189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2330 GMT 19 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Ye. Shirokov video report]

[Text] The results of the MSZMP Central Committee Plenum are being widely discussed in Hungary. Our correspondent reports:

[Shirokov] This week the social and political life of the country has been marked by particularly heated, unprecedentedly fierce debates, and judgmental openness. The tone was set by the MSZMP Central Committee Plenum which met under far from simple conditions. The appraisal made by Politburo member Imre Pozsgay of the well-known events which took place in Hungary in 1956 has shocked many; some found it to be close to the truth, while a huge number of people—and this has been noted at the plenum—voiced a resolute protest.

[Begin recording of undated MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz interview with unidentified Hungarian Television and Radio reporter, conducted immediately following the plenum; Grosz speaking in Hungarian

fading into Russian translation] We feel that the statement made by Comrade Pozsgay was rash. The work of the Central Committee's historical commission will continue and must be conducted on a strictly scientific basis. [end recording]

Comrade Grosz stressed that the MSZMP resolutely intends to continue the course of deep reforms of the system of political institutions in the interest of developing broad democracy. In the opinion of the Central Committee, political pluralism in the country under the present conditions can be achieved within the framework of a multiparty system. At the same time, better guarantees may be created for controlling the activities of the leadership and preventing power abuse.

Presently, in the country's party organizations, the plenum decisions are being discussed and meaning is given to the new tasks and demands. The following is Imre Pozsgay's opinion expressed during his visit to the Tolna region.

[Begin recording of undated Pozsgay interview speaking in Hungarian fading into Russian translation] The recent plenum is of exceptional significance. At it, a party split was avoided. The Central Committee made an important step in the direction of a new understanding of party unity. [end recording]

Touching on his evaluation of the 1956 events, Pozsgay said that the formula—people's uprising—as compared with extreme definitions such as revolution or counter-revolution is, in his opinion, a realistic one. But he is prepared to accept the compromise worked out at the plenum since the matter of unity is under consideration. The party is capable of preparing to embark on a very big task—the changeover to a system under which the trust of the people has to be earned in political contest.

One things is clear today: the paths of renewal chosen by Hungary are difficult, thorny, and in many ways, contradictory. The society is as yet unprepared for an immediate implementation of political power based on the multiparty system. This is one the conclusions reached at the plenum. But this, in itself, is not the action program. The action program is presently being worked out and will be discussed at the Central Committee plenum in March. dd

Political & Social

Gorbachev Continues Visit to Ukraine 21-23 Feb

Tours Lvov, Addresses Workers

PM2202121189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "To More Actively Drive the Process of Renewal. M.S. Gorbachev's Visit to the Ukraine"]

[Text] Lvov, 21 Feb—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is touring the Ukraine, arrived in this major industrial and cultural center of the republic today.

Mikhail Sergeyevich's first meeting with the city's working people occurred right at the airport. Addressing those assembled, M.S. Gorbachev said:

We are now living in a very crucial time. Probably the most difficult time. The entire country and all spheres of production are switching to new methods of economic management, political reform is unfolding along a broad front, the election campaign is under way—in a nutshell, we are, as the saying goes, well on our way.

But restructuring is a difficult job, things are not all that simple. We all have got used to a certain way of life, to a certain style and rhythm of work. This style developed over the years and decades. Now we have decided to switch to new forms in both life and business organization. By no means an easy task. In order to accomplish it, we need a real revolution in our own minds. This is the main point.

We are still not successful in everything, there are breakdowns and losses occurring here and there. But the cause of restructuring is nonetheless advancing. The working class has not only placed its trust in us, it is has also gotten down to restructuring.

The support of the working class gives us strength and confidence. After all, unless you sense society's support in a given cause, you might as well give it up as a risky job. The working class supports us, prompts us, and—whenever necessary—corrects us. Quite a few correct and businesslike remarks were made during the recent meeting with workers in Moscow, and we accept them because we have no other objective than to show greater concern for the working class, for the working people.

A voice: Good luck to you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, good health, and all the very, very best! You drive restructuring on, and we'll help you, each one of us through his own labor!

M.S. Gorbachev: Thank you, I am certain of this.

In the course of a conversation with workers, Mikhail Sergeyevich also asked questions concerning housing construction, food supplies in the city, and production collectives' working conditions.

The first impression of the city is given by the new housing districts on the approaches to the airport. The bright high-rise blocks in areas of new development along Lyublinskaya Street stand out even more graphically against the old buildings. The silhouettes of spires, cranes, and plant smokestacks meet the eye in a unified group against the skyline.

To make more efficient use of the economic and intellectual potential accumulated through the labor of generations and to transform Lvov into a mighty bastion of restructuring—this is what the over 60,000 Communists in the oblast center perceive as their main task. A principled conversation on the way it is being accomplished took place between M.S. Gorbachev and oblast leaders and labor collectives' representatives.

Following the folk tradition, workers and engineers from the "Elektron" Production Association welcomed M.S. Gorbachev with bread and salt and flowers. During his tour of the enterprise and in conversations with working people he asked about working conditions and the organization of social and consumer services. Workers were pleased to say that their plant has its own dining room, polyclinic, store, hairdresser's, and sauna.

You are turning out good products that are needed, M.S. Gorbachev said. Well done. Your firm is known both here at home and abroad. Keep up your brand name's reputation. After all, it must be a pleasure also for you to know that your labor goes to create high-quality output.

Now all labor collectives must assimilate economic accountability and self-financing, they must themselves resolve questions of leisure and daily life, he went on. This is not all that simple to achieve. You yourselves were probably under some pressure at times. But all that work has not been in vain! Now you yourselves feel better, and people are better off thanks to your work. It is necessary to restructure the entire country along these lines, there can be no other way to go but forward. This is how it must be in every workers' collective and scientific institution, on every kolkhoz and construction site.

While on the subject of construction work, let me say this: There are still numerous unresolved problems there. In the course of a conversation I was told by a worker: Construction work will largely depend on restructuring. Indeed, if construction work carries on the way it does now, we will have problems with housing. And this affects you all. Many people now want to provide themselves with their own homes, but this requires construction materials. Therefore, this is another aspect to be developed. Finally, many enterprises need reconstruction. This is again up to the

construction industry workers. Let me say it bluntly: Capital construction is still worse at restructuring itself than other sectors. Our concern is to find a radical solution to this problem in the immediate future. This is another sphere where we again expect support from the working class.

M.S. Gorbachev asked about the development of mutual relations between workers, enterprise leadership, and specialists. We have good normal relations, participants in the conversation replied, we respect our director.

M.S. Gorbachev: And what do you think of what is happening in the country, do you approve of the ongoing changes?

Voices: We approve. Thank you.

M.S. Gorbachev: The working class has shouldered the task of restructuring. It is the working class that supported this policy and has got down to it. Not everything is properly organized yet, but the workers remain on course. Because a working person is the one who knows best of all how to restructure a shop or a plant and the mutual relations within a labor collective. We alone, and nobody else must create a new country and new forms of life through restructuring, we must humanize everything so that everyone can feel better.

There is something else, too. We will do everything the socialist way. We are for socialism. It is the workers' system, a system for peasants and for all working people. But it is not for those who would wish—like a certain proportion of cooperative members—to dip into working people's pockets without producing anything. Workers will never accept this. The recently held meeting with working class representatives in the CPSU Central Committee showed that our workers are for socialism, for ensuring that the worker's voice can be heard and taken into account everywhere—at the enterprise and in the soviet alike.

Speaking of our foreign policy, M.S. Gorbachev remarked that it is aimed at ensuring relations of trust between peoples and countries, at jointly solving problems of the nuclear threat and ecology. Do you have any specific wishes, he asked the workers. "Carry on as you are!", they replied.

Briefing M.S. Gorbachev on the production process, Association General Director V.A. Rybynok emphasized that the main criterion, which determines the high demand for the output by "Elektron," is the production's orientation toward technical progress. This is the priority avenue. New products roll off the production lines every quarter, and then make their way to the stores. Right now, in parallel with a fourth-generation television set, they are producing the "Elektron Ts-382 DPP"—"Pravets 8D" computer complex, developed on a production sharing basis with Bulgaria. Next on line is the "Elektron Ts-427 DI" model, with the enterprise collective actively preparing for its series manufacture.

Even though the current output volume is huge—1.1 million receiver sets a year—demand for the enterprise's output is growing faster still. There is only one way to solve this question—fundamental modernization of production. This requires more advanced technologies capable of improving product quality and competitiveness. Foreign currency is also needed. Having been recently given the right to independent access to West European markets, the association has offered its television sets for export. They have gained a good reputation: The export model of the set made in Lvov—"Euromatic-380D"—is now freely available for sale in the FRG, and the convertible foreign currency earned by the Soviet enterprise has helped to consolidate the "backup" of production.

The firm's trade mark—a bat—appears on the wall of one of the buildings in the Ryasnyanskiy Production Complex. It symbolizes the association's receptiveness of all impulses of radical economic reform and scientific and technical progress. While touring the shops at the complex, M.S. Gorbachev saw for himself how the unique equipment functions. He was told that the main reserve for boosting the output of production is the swiftest possible assimilation of new equipment. Last year they produced 50,000 television sets, and a year later this number will increase sixfold. New television set models will start rolling off the production line very shortly.

In one of the association's blocks M.S. Gorbachev saw an exhibition of current production models and television sets of the future: analog-digital sets developed on a production sharing basis with a number of Polish enterprises, improved digital multifunction television sets with stereophonic sound and infrared remote control.

The illuminated display panel in the assembly shop shows that a normal production rhythm is now being maintained. A finished product comes off the assembly line every 40 seconds. Unfortunately, it has not always been that way. "Elektron's" partners—enterprises from six sectors—often disrupt supplies. The problem with TV picture tubes is particularly acute and the capacities for their production in the country are clearly inadequate. It is necessary to overcome intersectorial barriers, which to a large extent are hampering the elimination of the TV set shortage.

A group of workers gathered by the exit from the production complex site to see Mikhail Sergeyevich off. Yelena Pogrebnaya, a plastics molder and member of the enterprise's Komsomol committee, addressed him:

"Mikhail Sergeyevich, our collective was one of the first in the country to nominate you as candidate people's deputy. We want to give you our instruction: We support the line of restructuring and it must be pursued firmly. That is what we say, as workers."

Afterwards M.S. Gorbachev laid flowers at the V.I. Lenin monument. R.M. Gorbacheva also laid flowers.

A lively conversation resumed between M.S. Gorbachev and city inhabitants on the square by the monument. They discussed questions of restructuring, the development of democracy in the country, and the food supply. Not a single question went unanswered.

I am very glad to be in Lvov at last, Mikhail Sergeyevich said. I have visited the Ukraine many times but your republic is so huge that it is hard to see all of it. The main thing is that the Ukraine should develop well, otherwise the whole of the Soviet Union cannot develop normally. The Ukraine's political, cultural, and scientific influence is enormous.

Speaking about each union republic's contribution to the general cause of restructuring, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that each nation and ethnic group in our country has its own traditions, language, and culture and we must preserve everything good created in our union and in the cooperation of its peoples. It is important to increase respect, this is needed by the great peoples and even more by the minor ones. In this regard economic problems require a thorough analysis and profound solutions. There have been mistakes here in this and perhaps we have overlooked some of them now, too.

Take the questions of democracy and glasnost, he went on. This is a country of socialism, of working people, workers, peasants, and labor intelligentsia, yet there is a lack of democratic spirit. The people kept silent. Even when they elected a deputy he could not truly convey the mood of his comrades or say what life is like. We want all this to be taken into account now.

So we have put forward the slogan again: All power to the soviets! What does this mean in practice? The soviet will be unable to do anything if there is no change in its financial situation and if union and republic enterprises do not take into consideration, for example, the Lvov region's local soviets. Just elect the best people to it. This means it is necessary to find the kind of mechanisms under which each soviet feels that it is a force, that it wields power. After all, when soviets were not consulted on the siting of enterprises demographic, social, municipal, and environmental questions arose. After all, this is all a political process, democracy.

It seems to some people that the political process and democracy are something remote from them. But this is, after all, our common reality, this is already our way of life. It is necessary that people be able to see everything, be able to meet, to talk, and to decide which way to go and how to live. But there must be no gulf between the leadership and the masses.

In addition to questions of the economy and democratization, the questions of culture and interethnic relations are also acutely topical today. All this requires comprehensive examination. We began to resolve many things in the past but did not see them through to the end. But in a multinational country like ours it is necessary to take into account the interests of all republics, this is a tremendously crucial matter. There must be no excessive haste in resolving problems of national relations, everything must be thoroughly examined, but there must be no delay either, comrades. This cannot be, time is slipping away.

Voices: We are well aware of this! We wish you greater determination!

M.S. Gorbachev: Well, on what issues? Judge for yourselves: We have resolved much in the economy, including the attitude to ownership. We resolved the political question in such a way as to arouse the people's activeness and to proceed toward democratic elections. It was necessary to improve cadre policy and to develop it in such a way that collectives and working people themselves resolve everything, that party organizations take decisions, Communists themselves, people. And not simply that leaders are appointed from above.

Cadres must think differently now, in conditions of democracy they must learn to hear and take people's advice into account. And again— cadres must learn how to think in economic terms.

Voice: Departmental diktat persists!

M.S. Gorbachev: The departmental and bureaucratic diktat is being considerably weakened now and this trend will increase as economic accountability, the lease, and the second form of economic accountability become stronger. We must organize work ourselves and act vigorously.

Restructuring is beginning to put forward talented people, they are growing and becoming stronger. The more we liberate the situation the more of these people there will be—interesting, vital, irrepressible people. This is indispensable. Therefore it is only through restructuring that a new body of cadres can be achieved. Let democracy and the people put everything in its place. It is necessary to think about the country and the general good.

Here is another point, comrades. The most important thing is fortitude, the ability to defend correct positions, and to cherish our socialist values. We are experiencing a crucial stage in our history. I wish you happiness, may your city become even more beautiful so that you live even better lives.

The participants in the meeting wished Mikhail Sergeyevich health for many years to come and success in implementing everything planned.

After touring the old quarter of the city M.S. Gorbachev visited the Museum of Ukrainian Art. Here there was a meeting with representatives of the creative and scientific intelligentsia.

It was addressed by Ya.S. Podstrigach, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Western scientific center and director of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of applied mechanics and mathematics, N.F. Kolessa, the composer and people's artist of the republic, R.M. Lubkivskiy, the poet and chairman of the board of the Lvov Organization of the Writers' Union, Hero of the Soviet Union D.G. Bachinskiy, chairman of the city war and labor veterans council, Ukrainian SSR People's artist L.Kh. Kadyrova, and other scientific and cultural figures.

The creative intelligentsia, the speakers stressed, actively support restructuring. The participants in the meeting paid great attention to questions of preserving and strengthening the spiritual and moral values and in particular the very rich cultural heritage of ancient Lvov. They said that it is necessary to transform the oblast center, well known throughout the world for its unique historical monuments, into a preserved city.

Summing up the results of the conversation, M.S. Gorbachev said among other things:

I am glad of this meeting. In general I attach great significance to the intelligentsia's viewpoint and stance. At the present stage, in the conditions of the thorough restructuring of all spheres of our society's life, it is very important that we know your position.

There are two very significant features which are absolutely essential in present policy: It must be based on scientific data, a scientific forecast, and second it must contain a spiritual and moral element. Therefore we particularly value the contribution to restructuring from our scientific intelligentsia which is at the source of fundamental discoveries and which has built up a mighty potential for improving technologies in leading sectors.

We highly rate the creative intelligentsia's contribution to the the renewal of our society. It appeals to people's conscience, their memory, national and patriotic self-consciousness, arouses their best feelings, arouses in man a movement of the spirit and an interest in his neighbor, and teaches man to place general interests above his own. You may be a very educated man but if you have no spiritual sensitivity or sincere and interested attitude to the common cause people's hearts will not turn to you.

We must return to a society where the main thing is the individuality of man. Here, too, the broadest front of work is opening up for the creative intelligentsia. We welcome the fact that the intellect and labor of the worker is merging in a single stream today with the creativity of the artist and the writer. Reliance on the creative forces of the people is the party's mighty instrument in transforming society's productive and spiritual forces. And where party committees and the public act in this direction things go well. Conversely, where contacts with the creative and scientific intelligentsia are limited to the old schemes and habits you get all kinds of conjecture and ill-considered actions.

In general the following conclusion may be drawn from today's conversation: Restructuring is creating tremendous opportunities for enabling all links and mutual relations in society and all cooperation in policy, science, culture, and education to be fused into a single alloy and to serve a society whose highest goal is the good of each man.

M.S. Gorbachev was accompanied by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, V.S. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, and Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, first secretary of Lvov party obkom.

In the evening M.S. Gorbachev returned to Kiev.

Speaks With Residents, Intellectuals

LD2302002189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Feb 89

["The Spiritual Strength of Restructuring: M.S. Gorbachev's meetings on Lvov Soil"; title provided by screen caption—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Old Lvov met Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with true spring weather: It had been raining, but today, as if to order, there was sunshine. From his very first steps on the soil of the region near the Carpathians, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was met with kindness and cordiality. [video shows Gorbachev and entourage descending gangway, met by girls in national costume]

[Unidentified girl, speaking in Ukrainian] We welcome you cordially to the Lvov area, to our bountiful land, and, following the ancient Ukrainian custom, would please accept this bread from us?

[Unidentified man, speaking in Ukrainian] Our dear, esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich. During your flight over our wonderul republic, you had a chance to feel both the weather and mood of the people. We welcome you, the architect of restructuring. We welcome you—a leader who is working for peace, progress, and the happiness of all mankind. We welcome you as a person who brings a mighty spiritual potential to culture and to restructuring. We wish you health and happiness! To your family and close ones we say: Hello, dear comrades! Welcome! We greet you cordially, wish you health and happiness, as our people say, from dew, water, and any puddle.

[Girl] Welcome.

[Gorbachev] So restructuring is 'perebudova' in Ukrainian, yes?

[Man] Yes, 'perebudova.'

[Announcer] [words indistinct] to translate, and not simply because the Russian and Ukrainian languages are close, but because words which come from the soul, from the heart, are comprehensible to everybody. [video shows Gorbachev, Shcherbitskiy, local official; girls in national costume; Gorbachev getting into car]

Probably many of you, comrade viewers, watched the Vremya program yesterday and saw the report on Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's stay in Lvov. We are returning to this today. We are returning, because every one of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meetings and conversations with residents of Lvov displayed frankness and deep sincerity, and confirmed once more the common nature of our concerns, our aspirations, and our affairs. Indeed, the destiny of this region has taken shape with difficulty, and a considerable price has been paid for the present day in the area near the Carpathians, where only the reunification of the Western Ukrainian lands, the 50th anniversary of which we will be marking in September, enabled the diligence, originality, and spiritual culture of the people of this region to be revealed in full measure. And wherever Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev went during his trip, and whomsoever he met, the conversation dealt primarily with the fact that the fate of restructuring depends on the unity of all the peoples of our country. Only together, only jointly, can we make our lives better; only we ourselves can, with joint efforts, overcome any difficulties and achieve what has been planned. [video shows general shots of Gorbachev walking through Lvov and chatting to people] [passage omitted]

Such concepts as the home and the family are close to each one of us. People spoke about this in the conversations, but they stressed that it is precisely when we are together that we are strong. It was with this very point that the conversation with the creative and scientific intelligentsia at the Lvov museum of Ukrainian art began. Its collections account for around 100,000 exhibits, from monuments to the creativity of the ancient Slavs and the masters of Kievan Rus, to works by contemporary Soviet artists. Works by painters from the Western Ukrainian oblasts occupy a special place in the exhibition. They have all reflected the way of life of the people of this region and its nature in truthful and bright forms. The conversation with figures from science, culture, and art dealt with these very problems, with how they are developing and being solved in one of the largest regions of our country, which has rich historical traditions. The creative intelligentsia of the Ukraine actively support restructuring: this was stressed at the meeting. And its participants paid much attention to the fact that it is necessary to maintain and to strengthen the spiritual and moral values of the peoples. [video shows group touring gallery]

Summing up the results of the conversation with the representatives of the creative and scientific intelligentsia, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, in particular:

[Gorbachev] [passage omitted] We must look at all this, just as we must see what has impeded us and stifled our society, initiative, and thought and, in general, created very great difficulties, great difficulties. I am saying all this because it is very important for us to stop neglecting science. It insures us against great mistakes. Probably, one way or another, some blunders or errors cannot be avoided with great, with great...[Gorbachev changes thought] at this crucial stage. All the same, the most creative thought cannot take in all the brotherhood which is created by life itself, when all the creativity of people is united. It should always be borne in mind that nobody should be arrogant enough to think that he can do everything to make himself, a circle of people, or all society happy. No, that is conceited. Therefore, we value very highly the contribution by our scientific intelligentsia to analyzing the past, analyzing contemporary trends, and designing our plans, with the aim of avoiding major mistakes and errors. [passage omitted] That is why we must return to a society in which the individual is active. It is (?through) these individuals, the intelligentsia, workers, and peasants that our potential is realized. We cannot say that the whole of society will be approximately one of equals. No, that is clear. On the contrary, in keeping with the (?changing) potential, society will become more and more diversified. However, if it is devoted to the same goals and is prepared to share experience and be a participant in everything, that is very important. The work of our creative intelligentsia is indispensable here. Therefore we welcome the fact that the interests of the workers, the peasants, and our intelligentsia are merging in one stream today in their concerns for the country, and their attempts to better understand themselves, the country, society, what we want, what we have, and what we value. [passage omitted]

All in all, I think I would summarize our conversation like this: That restructuring is creating tremendous opportunities so that all these interrelations, mutual ties, all this joint creativity in politics, science and culture can be creatively and organically fused into a single entity through which the interests of the people can be expressed.

In the final analysis, politicians, scientists, members of the creative intelligentsia and (?ordinary intelligentsia) alike should see service to their own people as representing the supreme aim of their lives, if they correspond to what we imagine the intelligentsia to be like.

I don't think this is a vulgarization, so to speak, a vulgar demand which we are making on the party, on the scientist and on members of the intelligentsia—representatives of the creative intelligentsia—no, the thing is we believe that everything stems from concern and from being a part of the destiny of the peoples. These are the roots which, in my opinion, nourish the intellectual, the politician, and the scientist.

That's the first thing I would like to say. The second is this: I have found it very interesting to spend time in Lvov, because this land has a rich history and not a simple one. I think—you were speaking about remembrance—well, this history is remembrance, although maybe not a complete remembrance, and not yet comprehended. This is a lesson for us all.

It was here that one of the big lessons took place; as a result of a long and complicated path, the western Ukrainians united into one Ukrainian nation. This event which the people are experiencing is, I can see, a very vital and very important one, which is inseparably linked with the people's greatest aspirations. I think, quite naturally, that this year will be a great and eventful year for you.

It seems to me that we not only [word indistinct] but also support everything politically, and I hope that, to a considerable extent, Lvov will be the center of these events.

Nevertheless, the main thing, when we speak of the essence, so to speak, of restructuring, and of the deepest sense of restructuring, is to raise the individual, and to place the individual at the center of everything. Let us just ponder. We say: The state. (?We spoke of the state then—) it was necessary at that time to reinforce the fact and affirm the fact that we were creating our workers' state. That is the way it needed to be done. Today we need to put it thus, and get rid of the fact that in the implementation of this idea of the creation of the state and its functioning, it has somehow turned out that we have crushed the individual and turned him into a proverbial cog in the state machine. We must now put him at the center, and, through the restructuring of our country, the individual must—in the economy, in the political process, and in the spiritual sphere—be the main [word indistinct].

In our country there is still not the right degree of mutual understanding, or even of trust. It was indeed violated [words indistinct]. Responsibility for this is borne by the party and its cadres. We have accepted this responsibility self-critically, and it is indeed so. But I see how over 3 to 4 years—in a space of not fully 4 years—we have all been moving toward each other with great understanding, more respect, and more appreciation, and how new forces have been coming to the fore in society, both for the party and for all spheres of science, and in all the production spheres. This is, indeed, the main thing. Restructuring must create a new party corps of scientific and creative cadres. It is now providing an opportunity for talents to be revealed.

Some people think that it would be very simple to solve matters by expelling some people, then others, and so on. Well, let me say that in general this was done in our country. People used to be expelled in bursts, and they were not only expelled. They used to be eliminated. This was also often done in accordance with a plan, so there would be unity and so no one would interfere and (?get in the way). We must look at everything, so we must be very patient and democratic.

The process of democracy and glasnost is the foundation. It is what creates the environment in which society's potential may be uncovered and people's talents realized. There are, of course, also other talents that are of a destructive character. These talents, too, make use of this environment. You know, not only the mushrooms that you and I use by drying, boiling, frying or pickling grow in the humid environment of the bog. Also growing there is a most poisonous toadstool, which, you will remember, is often brightly colored. Just as the fungus grows in that environment, so this thing is growing in our environment.

We should discern all this better, and we have now started to discern it. What is good is the special sense of intuition. You know how working people, workers, have a very great instinct. I have been told that discussion is taking place in Moldavia in a certain constituency. No names mentioned. The program is being put forward. And they were speaking out very critically. And many people like that. Why do they like it? I'll tell you why they like it. Here there is no need to make accusations that someone has said such a thing. People want to detach themselves from the past as swiftly as possible, from everything that is bad. This is why we need healthy criticism, strong criticism, aimed at getting rid of sore points; we need democracy.

But there are people who have nothing beyond that in mind. There you are, such people can carry out destructive work in a brilliant manner. There is always (?that dividing line). What is going to happen next, one is asked, in the constituency? I was told this by Marshal Akhromeyev. And what can be expected from the candidate, the workers asked? But he had no program for what is to happen next. But the workers know that one has to go further, one has to move along on the food front, the industrial front, the scientific front; one must keep moving forward. One has to build things—that is the most difficult thing of all. You and I are experiencing a very rich process. But despite all the problems, I can see that positive tendencies are gathering strength. Often

one says that in our restructuring you can pick facts to confirm any, even the most paradoxical, conclusion. By way of example, that restructuring is hardly—that it is not necessary, and that the people are rejecting it. You can quote one or two people as having said this or that. No. And for all that, if one discerns the main trends, what is coming to fruition and crystallizing today is the fact that people are straightening themselves up, gaining strength, and acting more [words indistinct]. Therefore, the main thing is not to draw the wrong conclusion now. We have to make sure we do not give way to the spurs (?of emotion).

This is also true of the present determined conversations. Certain people here have been pressing me. They were talking about one thing and another. They see that they can't get away with saying something, so they immediately take up the next thing. They don't get anywhere with that, either, so they go on to the next thing. They want to see whether the general secretary will be diverted. Why should I or the other comrades be deflected? We have chosen a course. We have selected a course for the whole country. There may be specific moments; we have only just managed to get going; we have only just started. Incidentally, something is already coming of it everywhere.

Thank you for the meeting.

[Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's trip around the Ukraine is continuing.

More on Talks With Intelligentsia

LD2202120489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev looked round the old part of Lvov [on the afternoon of 21 February]. [video shows Gorbachev and entourage walking along cobbled streets; five women cheering from a balcony]

Comrade Gorbachev visited the Museum of Ukrainian Art. [video shows Gorbachev and group touring gallery] A conversation took place with the city's creative and scientific intelligentsia. Addressing the participants at the meeting, Mikhail Sergeyevich said, in particular:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] I am deeply convinced, and have come to this conclusion in unity with the comrades—it is our common opinion. A policy absolutely must contain two features which are, in my view, very essential, without which a policy as such—a serious policy, which is capable of embodying the needs which have come to a head and of somehow forecasting the future of society, of foreseeing it—if it does not include two essential elements: if it does not enrich itself with scientific data and if the spiritual, moral, element is not brought into policy [sentence as heard]. I think that our own experience, above all, and other experience, that of all mankind, shows this.

Well, let us return, both to the immediate future and the distant future. There is much which it will be possible to avoid—that which is unacceptable to us today—and we want to alter things, to free ourselves, to defend and take with us everything which preceding generations have created and on which we rely, because we are making our plans on some slippery ground, on unsteady [words indistinct] which is why we have placed the emphasis at the present stage on criticism, self-criticism, and sharp analysis. We need this; we need it for today and especially for tomorrow. But this does not preclude the fact that we are making, arranging, plans for the future. We are keeping everything which is necessary, which has been created by all preceding (?generations), and—let us say it straight out—not only by our society, our country and our culture, for we are using the fruits of all human culture on the basis of interaction with other countries and peoples.

And so, in my opinion, there must be clarity here, because there are many arguments on this subject of how to relate to the past. Some people believe that by returning to the past and subjecting it to strict analysis, some people will fall very much, you know, almost into a blackening of everything. Others believe that all movement in the past was almost a mistake. I think that both views are not serious, not serious. Life and history have taken place, and the task of present generations is to interpret what we have managed to obtain—what has lifted us up spiritually, what has brought us to new horizons of social development, what has made us the people that we are, capable now very much of interpreting a lot and (?making) plans, very serious plans.

We value the contribution of our creative intelligentsia, who address people's consciences, their memory, their national, patriotic, and internationalist (?feelings) and arouse a sense of being a united family—everything, you understand, which moves a person's soul and feelings and makes him a person, arranges things so that a person places the common interests, common concerns, and common pain to the fore. That is where spirituality begins. You can be an educated person, you can even be an academician—let academicians not take offense—but if this is not fertilized by the soul with a sharing of the experience of what (?crosses your path), if the interests not only of your friends, but also of the people and so on, are a matter of indifference, nothing will come of it.

All that is very important. And in this sense, what our creative intelligentsia are doing, in helping people to revive their spirit and the potential to increase the spirituality of culture, I must say that through this they strengthen the human spirit. Only a person who is strong in spirit, firm and healthy in morals, morally healthy, is

capable of taking upon his shoulders great responsibility, both for himself and for others, and able somehow truly to make an original contribution to all these processes through his participation.

That is why we must go back to a society in which the individual is active. It is (?through) these individuals—the intelligentsia, workers, and peasants—that our potential is realized. One cannot say that the whole society will be approximately one of equals; no, that is clear. On the contrary, in keeping with the (?changing) potential, society will become more and more diversified.

And let me say this outright here: That the party will, of course, be able to cope with its role, I think, if it relies upon the potential of the people, on the creative resources of the people. And in the areas where our party committees work in this way: in the areas where we as a party as a whole succeeded in understanding it and bringing these resources into play, and where we managed to involve, so to speak, the local interests, and we manage to do everything that must be done together, without isolating ourselves but, on the contrary, combining forces with each other in an even greater way, in an organic manner, so to speak, in those areas our work is somehow proceeding at a faster pace.

But in the areas where we see that the party has come to lag behind in its work concerning the interpretation of the processes that are taking place; where it simply has not had time to catch up with things; or else where it is working simply as it has been accustomed to work—there we see, you know, that various kinds of conjectures began to make their appearance. Even actions which have not been properly thought through also appear there, you know, various kinds of actions. [passage indistinct]

All in all, I think, I would boil our conversation down to this: that restructuring is creating tremendous opportunities so that all these inter-relations, mutual ties, all this joint creativity in politics, science, and culture can be creatively and organically bound together, into a single and cohesive entity through which the interests of people can be expressed.

In the final analysis, politicians, scientists, intellectuals, and artists alike should see service to their own people as representing the supreme meaning of their lives, if they are what we imagine the intelligentsia to be like. [applause] [end recording]

PRAVDA Reports Talks

PM2302124589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "Scientific and Cultural Potential Must Be Used for Society's Renewal; M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With Representatives of Lvov's Scientific and Creative Intelligentsia"]

[Excerpts] As has already been reported, on 21 February M.S. Gorbachev met with representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia in the city of Lvov. There was a thorough discussion of the complex of questions relating to ways of preserving and using in the people's interests material, spiritual, and moral values, including the rich cultural heritage.

The meeting was opened by Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, first secretary of the Lvov party obkom.

The first to speak was Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Academician Ya.S. Podstrigach, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Western Scientific Center. He stressed the great historical importance of the reunification of the western oblasts of the Ukraine with the Soviet Ukraine within the USSR, calling this act a triumph of historical justice. Its political topicality is even more obvious today.

He noted the social and economic changes in people's lives which were the result of this event 50 years ago. He described how four academy institutes, VUZ's, and departments and branches of sectorial institutes now operate in Lvov.

Many of the region's problems are similar to the problems of the whole country. But there are also specific features here. Thus, the shortage of water resources limits the opportunities for building up industrial production, especially as there are already approximately 20 chemical enterprises in the region.

The speaker noted that the Carpathian Mountains are now one of the country's few ecologically clean spots. The recreational potential of the Carpathians is used far from fully in the interests of the entire country. Of several hundred mineral water sources no more than one-tenth is used. The development of tourism and summer and winter sports—here are opportunities to make national use of the territory of the Carpathians.

Professor V.P. Chugayev, rector of the Lvov I. Franko State University, said in his speech:

I am a member of the older generation and I took part in the Patriotic War. But I want to talk about young people. There are 12,000 young men and women studying in our university. They are my children. Nearby is a polytechnical institute with a little over 20,000 students. These are also our children. Having dealings with them daily, I know that young people come out actively for restructuring. We too must support it by every means. We fought and restored the country for our children and grandchildren. It is for them to build and create a new society in our time of restructuring. Mikhail Sergeyevich, you have seen these young people on the city streets, seen their passion for the future and their enthusiasm. Restructuring is their practical business and it will no longer turn back. Vigorous restructuring is now under way in the younger generation's thinking and perception of everything new and they are renouncing existing

stereotypes and understanding that they must act differently. And we, the older generation, are called on to help young people here. [passage omitted]

The sculptor I.A. Sadovskiy, chairman of the board of the Lvov organization of the USSR Artists Union and honored figure of art of the Ukrainian SSR, spoke of the need for the careful conservation of Lvov's cultural potential. [passage omitted]

The writer Roman Fedoriv, chief editor of the local journal ZHOVTEN and a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, devoted his speech to the state status of the Ukrainian language.

Hero of the Soviet Union D.G. Bachinskiy, chairman of the Lvov City Council of War and Labor Veterans, cordially thanked M.S. Gorbachev and the entire Soviet leadership for the large amount of work which the Soviet state is performing for international disarmament and the solution of the complex problem of Afghanistan. I went through the past war myself, he said, and I know well how much grief it brought people. The speaker dwelled on questions of the veterans movement and said that many of those who placed their strength and health on the altar of the fatherland and fought bravely at the front need aid from the state and the public. For their part, the veterans will continue to give all their rich experience of life to the cause of educating young people in the Soviet people's glorious combat and labor traditions. [passage omitted]

The well-known composer N.F. Kolessa, people's artist of the Ukrainian SSR and consultant professor at the Lvov N.V. Lysenko State Conservatory, is a representative of the older generations of Lvov people. The destiny of each person, he said, is filled with events both pleasant and tragic. But there are experiences which you remember all your life and which sink into your heart. For instance, I remember the Austro-Hungarian state on our land, the rule of bourgeois Poland, the black night of the fascist occupation. I remember the joyous days of the great victory. But, there is an event which I will really remember to the end of my life—that is the reunification of all the lands of the Ukraine in a single state organism. My grandfathers and great-grandfathers dreamed of this for centuries. I am an old man myself, but I know that I will die a happy man. I have survived to see bright days when impressive renewal has begun in the country in the economy, culture, and other spheres of life and will unfailingly end in success.

The ideas of his artistic colleagues were continued by the poet Roman Lubkivskiy, chairman of the board of the Lvov Writers Organization. He noted that in 1939, the people of the western Ukraine, who had once had no rights, spread their wings and acquired freedom. We believe—and I want my colleagues and friends to support me—that a very great thing has happened. Our opponents in the West are now saying that it was not a reunification but an annexation. No, everything which happened at the People's Veche, the People's Assembly, met with a tremendous response. The people accepted this historic act as a unique chance for the sake of political justice.

Soviet power, the speaker continued, has given me everything for happiness and I need no other power.

Political philistines in the West and some of our neighbors are making up various stories around this issue and are sowing distrust among people. But we—Ukrainians, Russians, Armenians, Czechs, and Slovaks—live on these lands as a friendly family.

The speaker dwelled on the problems of preserving monuments of culture. Access to the people's sacred places, he said, exalts man and makes him purer and richer in soul and heart.

Personal pensioner I.I. Storonyak said: I well remember the joy with which the population welcomed the liberating Soviet Army in the fall of 1939 and the enthusiasm with which the People's Assembly adopted the decision on the reunification of the west Ukrainian lands with the Soviet Ukraine. Great revolutionary potential, whose soul the communists were, was manifested here. But the role of the West Ukrainian Communist Party has so far not been properly reflected in history. To eliminate these "blank spots" it is essential to pool the efforts of historical scholars not only of the Ukraine but also of the Soviet Union. The importance of reunification in a single Soviet state should be fittingly reflected in historical literature, which will play a large part in educating future generations. [passage omitted]

Summing up the results of the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said:

I am pleased with this meeting. At the present stage, when we have been faced with the need for profound restructuring and the renewal of all spheres of life, it is very important for us to have a comprehensive understanding of society. That is our common opinion.

In my opinion two important elements must be present in a policy: the forecasting of the future of society and the prediction of its development on the basis of scientific data and the people's spiritual enrichment. Our own experience and that of mankind in general suggests what we should rid ourselves of today and what we should keep from the creation of preceding generations and take with us. We must know the kind of soil on which we are building our plans and the kind of spiritual foundation on which we are relying.

At the present stage we have concentrated the emphasis on criticism, self-criticism, and analysis. We need that. We need it for today and particularly for tomorrow. In drawing up our plans for the future we take all that is best that was previously created, and not only by our own society but by all mankind. I say this because there are

many arguments about how to treat the past. Some people believe that, in returning to it and sharply criticizing the negative phenomena and facts of that time, we are engaging in what is virtually the discrediting of everything through which we have lived. Others believe that all movement in the past is almost a mistake. I think both views are shallow. Life and history have happened and the task of present generations is to consider what has been successfully obtained, what has raised us up, and what has made us what we are. We must all see this, as we must see what has impeded us and tied down our society, our initiative, and our thinking, and what has created difficulties on our path.

I am saying all this because it is very important for us to rid ourselves of the neglect of science. That will protect us from repeating mistakes, although you probably cannot avoid some blunders and miscalculations at drastic turning points, at a crucial stage. That is why we value our scientific intelligentsia's contribution to the analysis of the past and the analysis of modern trends and to the forming of our plans for the future in order to avoid errors. We value the contribution of our creative intelligentsia who appeal to people's conscience, to their memory, their national, patriotic, and international feelings, and arouse them. Everything which moves man's soul and puts common interests, common concerns, and the common idea first is where spirituality begins. Every matter must be fertilized by the soul of empathy and involvement. Man's spirit is strengthened through this. After all, only a man who is spiritually strong and morally healthy can assume great responsibility for himself and others. That is why we must act together and individually. That is extraordinarily important—the personality of the intellectual, the worker, and the peasant revealed in life. It is in practical deeds that the individual's potential is realized.

We welcome the fact that the interests of the workers, peasants, and our intelligentsia are merging into a single stream in their concern for the country. Attempts to gain a better understanding of ourselves, of the country, and of society—that is what we want. I shall say frankly that the party can cope with its role only on one essential condition—reliance on the people's creative potential, on their efforts. And where our party committees act in this way, where communists have been able to pool the efforts of everyone and to rely on the people, matters proceed more rapidly.

Restructuring creates enormous opportunities to organically unite everyone's efforts and joint creativity in politics, science, and culture as if in a single compound and thus express the people's interests in full. Ultimately it is precisely here that politicians, scientists, and intellectuals must see the supreme purpose of their lives.

I was very interested to visit Lvov inasmuch as this land has a rich and complex history. A great lesson was taught here, the gist of which is that as a result of a long and complex path this western part of the Ukraine was reunited with the Soviet Ukraine. People inextricably link their greatest thoughts and hopes, their present and their future, with this notable event which took place 50 years ago. It is entirely natural that this jubilee year will be a great, full year for you. I think this will be reflected not only in Lvov, but also in Moscow and Kiev. (Applause).

We have put foremost problems of housing, food, and consumer goods. That is so. Nonetheless, the main thing which defines the essence of restructuring is raising up man as an individual. We must rid ourselves of the situation in which we forget about the individual while implementing the idea of creating a worker and peasant state. Today, we must place man at the center of all our transformations in the economy, in the political process, and in the spiritual sphere. We need restructuring for the sake of man—that is its most profound meaning.

It seems to me that we are living in great times. We must not let this chance slip. If you have no objection I will talk about this in my speech in Kiev. (Applause). Perhaps we still sometimes lack the degree of mutual understanding and even trust which is necessary on the path toward a great goal. After all, it was once destroyed. And the party and its cadres bear responsibility for this. We have assumed self critically this responsibility. But we can see that in the past 3-4 years everyone has come to meet each other. We must display more understanding and respect for each other. Perhaps some people believe that the process of renewal in the country can be accelerated very simply. Some people can be driven out and all the others can be replaced mechanically with different people. But this has already been done in our country. People were driven out and replaced in droves and were not only driven out but destroyed. And this too was often done under the banner of achieving unity. No, we must be patient, and our exactingness must be democratic.

The process of democracy and glasnost is the foundation of restructuring. It is what creates the environment in which the potential of society can be revealed, in which people's talents can be realized. Of course, there are also other "talents" which also use this environment to show themselves. We must recognize these people. And it is a good thing that the working man is very good at smelling them out. I was told about how a discussion was under way in an electoral okrug in Moldavia. A man was speaking sharply, and that pleased many people because people want to part with the bad past as rapidly as possible. Of course, we need powerful criticism aimed at ridding ourselves of defects. But that man has nothing to offer apart from criticism. Such people's destructive work is brilliant. But what is their constructive program? They have none. The working man knows what needs to be done next—moving forward the food front, the industrial front, and the scientific front.

We are living through a complex period. Nonetheless, I can see that positive trends are gathering momentum. I often say that any facts now can be collected to draw the

most paradoxical conclusion; for instance, even the conclusion that we do not need restructuring and that the people allegedly reject it. But if you look deep down you can see that the people are gathering strength, straightening up, and acting in favor of restructuring. So it is important not to become entangled in conclusions here. We have chosen the path of restructuring throughout the nation and powerful growth has already begun on all salients.

I am an optimist. And I am an optimist not simply to keep my spirits up, but out of conviction, on the basis of an analysis of the data at my disposal. I am an optimist on the basis of profound knowledge. It is my conviction that these are not merely wishes. The most dangerous thing is to find oneself in the sphere of illusions. I am sure that no one will now turn our people back. But, we must not stop. We must only proceed forward.

And another thing. How much must be done in the cultural sphere. At this meeting proposals and opinions have been voiced about looking at Lvov from an all-union position, so to speak. There are indeed many cultural values here of importance to the Ukrainian people, the entire Soviet people, and mankind as a whole. That is why everything must be considered and pondered thoroughly and a program of action must be outlined. Many problems have accumulated. We will probably not be able to do everything right away, especially as we have problems requiring immediate solutions.

We will gather strength in connection with the new opportunities which are opening up. Thank you for the meeting, comrades.

Gorbachev Returns to Kiev From Lvov

LD2102201389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] In the evening Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev returned to Kiev. In the tour around the city [Lvov] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was accompanied by Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine; Shevchenko, chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet Presidium; Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, and Pogrebnyak, first secretary of the Lvov Obkom.

Arrives in Donetsk, Meets Citizens

LD2202153589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Excerpts] As already reported, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is continuing his trip around the Ukraine. Our special correspondents report from Donetsk. [passage omitted] The road from the airport follows the city's main street, Ulitsa Artema. At the start of it, at the entrance to the central part of the city of Donetsk, is the miner's memorial. Many citizens came out onto the street to meet Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and welcome him. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev laid flowers at the memorial to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in the center of the city, where he conversed with citizens.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Tell me, have you gone over to financial autonomy?

[Man] Yes.

[Gorbachev] In what year? Last year, or this year?

[Man] This year. The city went over this year to the second model.

[Gorbachev] To the second model?

[Man] Yes.

[Gorbachev] I'll tell you what I think, the weakest point in the transition to financial autonomy and self-financing is setting up reliable contacts at the level of the enterprises themselves—this applies to virtually all enterprises—because they have grown accustomed to the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply finding connections for them. It provided for them, so to speak, through its commands. Now they have to work this out for themselves, and probably...[changes thought] we are even getting information—and it is also being leaked to the press—that some enterprises think that they are monopolists in some very important product and they extort, they literally extort, from other people, and they impose their prices upon others. But the main thing is that they say: Put some more metal our way, and then we will supply you, or give us some other product. Well, I think that this is all the time...[changes thought] at such a time of restructuring, of transition, things will fall into place. We must create such economic levers so that everyone will seek a partner for himself and so that he cannot live without that partner. That is what I think. I think that this will come out right, especially after the transition to the new model and to leasing. I have the impression that the soviet of a labor collective can find a solution to everything it wants to do. It can put anyone it likes in his place, even if he's the director. Who is the head of the labor collective council at your works?

[Man] At the works?

[Gorbachev] Yes.

[Man] A worker.

[Gorbachev] At one time, you know, it was directors. We even had a Politburo meeting about this and we recognized that it was wrong.

[Voices] [Words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] I can tell you this, I know the working class of the Donbass, and even in those times which we call the time of stagnation, it was always up to it. [sentence as heard] When they needed to, they spoke bluntly. And this is even more so now. Do not wait; tackle things yourselves and act. The whole point of it is that you should act yourselves. So, can one really have someone coming from somewhere to introduce order at tens of thousands of enterprises? This cannot be, comrades. We shall come through it, but I think that we shall learn.

[Man] That's right. [end recording]

Tours Donetsk Machine Factory

LD2202103289 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Donetsk February 22 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev received a traditional welcome of bread and salt when he visited a local machine-building factory as part of his continuing stay in the miners' city of Donetsk on Wednesday.

Nearly 85 per cent of the Donetskgormash factory's output is either equal to, or superior, to comparable foreign- manufactured machines.

Its products can be seen operating in virtually every mine and pit in this country and many are exported abroad where they are in high demand.

Boasting its own research centre, advanced production facilities and a highly-qualified workforce, the factory has been responding alertly to national economic needs.

Gorbachev toured its workshops, inspected technology and talked to workers.

Speaks With Workers at Machine Works

LD2202164889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Report by "special correspondents" on CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the Ukrainian Leninist Komsomol Machine-Building works in Donetsk on 22 February]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Semina] Works leaders acquainted the party Central Committee general secretary with the enterprise's production, with its achievements and problems. It is clear that all these problems worry the workers and leadership, and they discussed them in detail with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] How is the institute operating? On financial autonomy together with the enterprise?

[Unidentified speaker] Yes.

[Gorbachev] And what has changed after you switched to financial autonomy? How do you feel about that? You started on 1 January, didn't you?

[Male speaker] We have switched over only since 1 January.

[Female speaker] We have just switched over. It is very difficult to say now what and how it will be.

[Gorbachev] Nevertheless, have you sorted out on what principles the institute has to work under the conditions of financial autonomy? Do you know what is happening to our branch science? It used to be the case very often that the ministry supported and fed it regardless of the contribution made by those branch institutes. And often, if a branch institute belonged to a ministry, it used to prepare documents for the ministry; this is too...[changes thought]. The minister is here and this is what I say, Comrade Belichko: The institute is here at hand, well, director, prepare a certificate for me, make an anlysis for me, have a conversation, and that is it.

But science must, so to speak, deal with the issues of technical and technological restructuring, and, apparently, there are economic subsectors which means you should master the business of financial autonomy within the enterprise. That is what is required of science now especially in a transitional phase. Therefore, science should be tied to the results of the factory. That's how it should be. This is the main thing. It used to be the case in our country that branch institutes existed for years without providing output, nothing, practically no scientific developments, and still they received their salaries. Such a situation is untenable. Therefore, all should be transferred to financial autonomy.

[Female speaker] But there is restructuring and things are getting better....

[Gorbachev] Better?

[Female speaker] Of course! Those who work, live, I say. But those who do not work....

[Gorbachev] This is the main thing. That is how it should be. This is the most important thing. Everything is simple.

[Female speaker] Yes, everything is simple.

[Gorbachev] According to labor.

[Female speaker, in Ukrainian] If you have money, you go to the shop and buy, but if you do not have money....[laughter] One should work!

[Gorbachev] Right, according to labor.

[Female speaker] Of course.

[Gorbachev] You know, you have raised such a topic, I mean, according to labor. We have departed from this principle so greatly, both in industry and agriculture. Take a loss-making collective or state farm, their losses, its profits are less than its payments, but it lives on. Why, I ask you?

[Female speaker] Why, indeed!

[Gorbachev] It turns out that someone is working for its benefit....

[Woman] Yes.

[Gorbachev] Someone is earning money for it and keeping it. Therefore, according to labor. If an individual or collective earns—let them earn. What kind of consumer goods [promtovary] do you produce?

[Male speaker] This year we will produce 10 million rubles worth of consumer goods.

[Gorbachev] You should produce more. All enterprises, whatever their profile, should (?think) of the issue of goods. [end recording]

[Unidentified correspondent] After visiting the Lenin Komsomol Machine-Building Works, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary met miners of the Donetsk Coal Field at the main territorial administration for the coal industry. There are many serious problems in Donetsk and the whole Donbass region. There is a shortage of new equipment. Over the last 3 years productivity in coal extraction has increased by a little over 1 percent. Although there is an acute shortage of housing—60,000 families of miners are on the waiting list for apartments—the fulfilment of the 5-year plan for housing construction has been lagging behind. Of course, all these problems were the focus of the meeting. The main tasks of restructuring were also discussed.

Meets With Donetsk Miners

LD2202222189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Report on meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Donbass Miners, in Donetsk 22 February—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] In the afternoon, completing his acquaintance with Donetsk, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with Donbass miners. Comrade Gorbachev opened the meeting with an introductory speech. [video shows glimpse of Gorbachev being ushered into a room by a man pointing toward a chair at the head of a table with four microphones on it. Raisa is shown just behind Gorbachev in the doorway. The camera then cuts briefly to miners in the room, who are standing and applauding. The camera then cuts back to Gorbachev, with Raisa and Shcherbitskiy shown entering the room behind him. Gorbachev gestures to dampen the applause. The camera cuts back to the miners, who continue applauding. The camera then cuts back to Gorbachev, about to take a seat at the head of the table with two microphones in front of him; Shcherbitskiy sits immediately to his right with one microphone in front of him; Gorbachev remains standing throughout his address]

[Gorbachev] (?They keep insisting) that I sit down right here behind the microphones.

Dear comrades, back in Moscow, we were speaking of the fact that the time had come that we must once again travel to the Ukraine. The time is such a hectic one, a crucial time, such profound changes are in progress in the country. Of course, it is important to us that in each republic these changes should proceed successfully, that restructuring should gain strength. But what else is there to do here? As they say, there is no getting away from this, and there is no getting around the fact. If we say that each republic should make the maximum possible contribution to all these revolutionary changes of ours, restructuring will, of course, skid if such republics as the Ukraine—a huge republic with a huge potential—took part in a way not contemplated by the restructuring.

So, you understand, in our country's national economy, its national economic complex, everything is organized in such a way that if the slightest interruptions occur in one corner, in some single region of the country—well then, you remember those tribulations we had in connection with Nagorno-Karabakh in Armenia and Azerbaijan, and right away the entire country felt the effect. Well, (?say), Nagorno-Karabakh is a small autonomous oblast—I believe that altogether some 130,000 people live there—but in our country, specialization is such, the division of labour is such, and cooperation is such—this is of great importance—that if there are small interruptions somewhere, we feel their effect throughout the country. But imagine, if irregularities were to start in the development of republics such as the Ukraine, where over 50...precisely how many on the first [word indistinct]?

[Unidentified man] [words indistinct]

[Gorbachev]...51 million people live and work, then everything becomes disorganized in the country and restructuring will lose. That is why we are keeping a close eye, to make sure that in such a republic as the Ukraine, things are always going well in all areas. This is especially important now.

I do not want to go into details now, into specifics as to what is taking place here. Ahead of us lies tomorrow's conversation. Then we will be having talks in Kiev with the republic's leadership regarding what it has been possible to do during these years, and what has not been possible, where the Ukrainians themselves are to blame and where the center, so to speak, did not keep its word to the Ukraine in some respects.

All this has to be looked into so that the Ukraine can make great strides forward. Substantial processes have been taking place in the Ukraine, and it must be said that the Ukrainians have managed to master the indicators, very important indicators, relating to the 5-year plan. That is important, comrades. Nowadays, when economic relations are being restructured, when the modernization of all sectors—machine building and so on—is under way, so as to open up the way for new equipment and technology, there are always difficult periods. It is not so simple. And the fact that the working class, the working people of the Ukraine, are supporting the economy, is very important for the whole of the Soviet Union, although I must say that the problems—those that already have been accumulating in the course of restructuring—the difficulties and the pains, are inherent in the Ukraine, too, and they have to be seen. I would not like now to make use of my own knowledge about how things are going here in the republic, and what wishes and critical remarks can be voiced. I would like, in that case, to simply rely on my meeting with you, on your conversation with you...[corrects himself] on my conversation with you. So I would like to call on the miners to speak, because when we were talking about the plan for the trip around the Ukraine, we said right away that it was necessary to make sure we visit the Donbass. So the choice was not fortuitous, as it were. It was necessary to come to this mining area, as it were, and to talk and listen to the people here about how things are going, what people's moods are like, how restructuring is faring on Donetsk soil, and, most importantly, how people are faring with restructuring, what they have and have not managed to do, what worries them, how the whole country and the whole of restructuring are viewed in the Donetsk area, what you regard as correct, what makes you anxious, and what has to be changed and improved.

So I greet you, I welcome this meeting and ask you, just like that—without scripts or anything, just as the spirit takes you—to take the floor and say something for 3-5 minutes each, as it were. We will listen longer to anyone who has something interesting to say. The main thing is that our conversation should be blunt, in true mining fashion. I know that you are people who know how to speak bluntly about what is going on here and about your views.

[Announcer] During the meeting, there was a thorough conversation about the problems that worry the miners of the Donbass.

Addresses Miners Aktiv in Donetsk

LD2302021189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Address by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, given at a meeting with the Donbass miners aktiv 22 February in Donetsk; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] I value this conversation very highly, because it gives me a lot of useful information which is simply essential for me to know. And if, indeed, you can put it like that, then in these last few years, meetings just like this have become simply essential. But I would place one thing first of all—and the country should know this, this is very important, this is after all the stand taken by the working class of the Donbass, and its position has always been of significance in the formulating of a correct position for the country on the most important topical question—but today the main thing for us is the policy of restructuring.

What was heard here today means one thing—that without this policy, it is inconceivable for us to hope for progress, advancement, and improvement of all spheres of life in our society. This is quite clear, and you know, this gives strong backing to our leadership of the country and of the republic. Therefore, I put this in first place and would like to point this out. But speaking of this, the comrades, in my opinion, spoke very correctly at the meeting both here when we were talking on the Donbass soil in Donetsk and now, I personally would have said simply that you are crystallizing, as it were, certain distinctive slogans, formulae, in the first place concerning the policy of restructuring: Not a step back. [sentence as received] Do you remember when we said that? Well perhaps we did not, but our fathers and grandfathers said that, when it was impossible to take a step. I would say to you that this is how things are now with restructuring. We cannot only not take a step backwards, but I always emphasize that we must not stand still. We must move things on insistently.

The second thing is that I think that the comrades spoke very correctly when they said that we need actions and we need results, we need results. And the fact is that today the miners stated their position and opinions on this policy at the same time as they said what actions they are taking to reinforce this policy, so that there will be results both in production from the point of view of extracting coal and in a turn-around in the economy to orientate it towards people and to improve the miners' living conditions. They have raised other questions very acutely; this is what is needed. Isn't that right, comrades?

We have now discovered what we need to do in the country; it is now necessary to move constructive work, constructive work into first place. And this theme must be present in conversations, in our business discussions. This theme must take precedence and be the primary and main one today in the press, on television, in everything. Because restructuring must be pushed forward. Otherwise this will be just empty eulogizing of the worst sort. In the past, you know, we were let down by the gap between words and action. We must be aware all the time. But the comrades are correct when they say that today every scrap of experience in every industry, in every collective, in every region, everything that is positive must be made known to the whole country, so that everyone can ponder it and think about what is useful to him and beneficial and then take it and make use of it himself. This is what is now of decisive importance—practical deeds.

In connection with this, the question of cadres arises. Much depends on this. Many of the practical questions which have been raised here in one way or another are primarily concerned with cadres. For example, look at the last speaker. I especially permitted that last speech in order to say that leasing is needed and that new forms of organization—in one case leasing and in another case something else, I do not know—are needed. But this is an interesting matter. If this is so, comrades, should we not give the greatest attention and get to the bottom of it? That means we should make preparations. Some people will go faster than others, but people should not be forced into it. We do not need wholesale introduction of leasing in the spirit of the wholesale introduction of collectivization, which turned out to have the results we all know about. We need well-thought-out, sensible work, as a result of which people will consciously undertake new obligations and put themselves in a new situation and obtain better results. I would welcome that.

For this, specialists are needed; leaders are needed, economists are needed. What the Donbass worker has to say is very important for us, very important. It gives us strength and confidence to carry out this difficult work, which we are getting underway in our vast country. Sometimes we in such a way...[changes thought] because he wants everything to be changed more quickly. But it is the case that a mine with an annual output of 2 million tonnes takes 9 years to build. That is 9 years, according to plan. But it actually takes [unidentified voices say 20] up to 15 as a minimum. You are right, there are individual cases where it has taken 20, but by and large up to 15. That means it takes 15 years to build a mine and bring it up to this annual capacity. But to overturn the whole country, to transform it so that it really works in all spheres—in the economy, in politics, in the spiritual sphere, and in the cultural sphere—some people would like it to be just a matter of pressing a button and transforming the country. That is impossible.

We shall move forward via people's fates, via people, via collectives. People must choose consciously. If we say that we want to arrive at a society which is democratic, self-managing, where the human-being himself and all his problems are the main value, then this must be resolved democratically, via awareness of where we are now and where we want to arrive. But are we to start out for the most noble aims as if we were chopping firewood? Such appeals do exist. You can hear them. And they even enjoy support. I always wonder why this is so. These appeals seem very light-weight and ill-considered, but they meet with support among the people, and I wonder why this is so.

I think that people on the spot can see a certain amount of opposition on the part of...[changes thought]a slow reaction, a slow...[changes thought] not the right... [changes thought] they do not see the right feelings on the part of managers and specialists to push restructuring forward. So let us not always just dismiss the fact that someone is making a lot of noise and shouting and yelling. Such people exist. They exist; here, too, during my stay on Ukrainian soil, I have spoken about this.

But let's think about it. Why is it that those voices find support among some of the people. The reason for this is evidently that by no means all of our cadres have really become engaged in restructuring. But restructuring is their affair: You see, they are Communists holding state posts. They should set an example; they should be the first to get restructuring in motion. They are frequently taking advantage of their position to hold it up, in order, you know, to preserve the world that they (?had managed to get for themselves) for years and decades, and to just play the piano, so to speak. I think that, besides the fact that we condemn all kinds of leftist statements of that type, all kinds of attempts to incite to leaps and to move in leaps and bounds....That is nonsense.

Everyone—both you and I, and other countries—has already tried out leaps, and we know to what they have led. Everything is already quite clear here, it has been tested by history. [Unidentified voice interrupts: The great leap forward...] You understand, great and small turning points, years of the great leap and so forth, they have already scattered everything hither and thither. Now we are bending it and straightening it out. This is why we must bear the following in mind: In rejecting all those leftist appeals, slogans, and approaches, we should, nevertheless, see that the ground on which these slogans become common currency in our society is created by the actual situation, probably by the progress being made in restructuring. It is not going ahead everywhere as it ought to.

So, I think that we Communists and the working class must discern that and must urge on our positions and our influence. I see that [the question of] the fate of the Donbass is a real one and remains for the moment. I heard it in conversations out in the street when we met, I heard it from the leaders, from the leadership of the republic, and from the leaders of the industry. I can see that naturally for you it is probably a subject that pushes others into the background to a certain extent. That is right, comrades.

What is the fate of the Donbass, which are the prospects, the vital prospects of hundreds of thousands of people? If today your association numbers 120,000, you said? [Unidentified voice: 120] One-hundred-and-twenty, then one must include the family as well, which means that one must multiply that figure by 3 or 4 times. That means there are 500,000. And if one adds that someone drives the transport, someone provides services, someone supplies equipment, and so forth, that is the fate of this land, the fate of the people of this land who have devoted themselves to such far from easy labor for years and decades. It is the country's energy base.

Here everything must be weighed up both from the point of view primarily of the interests of this region, and from the state's point of view. I think that the interests here are similar to one another, that they coincide. At present, we are striving to make fewer decisions, you know. At the Politburo and in the government we have come to an agreement to make just those decisions that reinforce restructuring in the sense of creating the legal, economic, and social prerequisites and not to strive to adopt- ...[changes thought] recently, Comrade Ryzhkov reported 120 requests regarding the adoption of various decisions in respect of different issues he had returned on the basis of that approach that we are formulating. Why? The 13th 5-year plan is still only being outlined, and there are already so many requests that it is already necessary to include the 14th 5-year plan in order to satisfy those requests. [Unidentified voice: A trillion, a trillion] Yes, yes. This means that it is a question of the following: We should set targets for somewhere in the near future—for 20 years—determine these targets and their priority, and plan our work on this basis.

There must be more planning. This you understand, exerts pressure on the government, on the plan; it means the dispersal of resources, a lack of balance. That will only lead to feverish activity. In this sense, we must be more rational. We have started making the right turns, toward the restructuring of economic relations, a turn toward scientific and technical progress, the conducting of a structured policy, so that the economy is aimed more at people's needs, at the social aspect, at solving social issues. That must all be continued. This is how the 13th 5-year plan will be shaped up—proceeding from such approaches. Indeed work is in full swing.

I think that simply within the context of that work for the 5-year plan—and there the energy base occupies a leading place—power engineering is power engineering. If the balance in power engineering goes wrong, is disrupted, if the energy sector is disrupted, everything will come to a standstill, both production and the everyday life of society, and everything will be dead. Therefore, naturally within the framework of working out energy problems, we must also work out the destiny of the Donbass. In this connection there should be the corresponding policy with regard to capital investments, on the basis of that study, which would assist both in building up capacities and in resolving the social questions that have accumulated, especially the fate of the old miners' settlements. That is, the entire complex of issues, and not in the way suggested by comrades who made speeches here.

I think the first person who spoke—that was Comrade (Leshov)—said that the capacities were created, but everything remained on the sidelines. Housing is out of date, and the social and cultural facilities are out of date, especially the premises for cultural activities, and it thus is having an effect on the outcome in the end. Therefore, I think that we accept the fact that your request, your well-founded formulation of the fate of the Donbass must be examined by the Central Committee and the government. We shall do this both with the participation of the republic and with the participation of the industry. Mikhail Ivanovich [Shchadov, USSR coal minister] you must already begin deliberating on it and preparing for it.

The third question—the comrade was quite right in the way he posed the question of science and technology. You see, you have all the technology. And there is plenty of science, isn't there? [unidentified voice replies: A lot- - 30,000 scientific assistants in the industry] Not at the factory. You understand that you can't as they say, put the blame on anyone.

There are some fundamental issues where you need, you see, where you need to bring in major academic science. This is obvious. For example, in the Ukraine this science is high-powered, and it is possible to bring it in to perform tasks. It is possible to bring it in elsewhere in the country, but the main thing is the applied scientific research which would help to solve issues, especially of technical reequiping and technical progress in the industry, in order to achieve greater labor productivity while maintaining productive indices at a certain level. economic indices will depend on this. for this reason, I think that you were correct to ask, and these questions must be worked at.

You were right to make criticism, and they relate, I would say in general, on the whole.... [changes thought] And you know, science in our country is currently being reformed. After all generally speaking, a few years ago, it was considered that the science of economics in this country did not really need elaborations, councils of experts, and objective analyses and evaluations.

You see this is how things took shape when the experts were not needed and when their only role was to commentate and to engage in propaganda of certain decisions and slogans, and it has put our science in a difficult position. Science is also being reformed, and it must be said that it is being reformed fundamentally now.

I think that bringing it into practical processes, to really help, as someone said at a CPSU Central Committee meeting—a man from Tyumen I think—it would be better if scientists would help us to get leasing underway. It is very clear that it is necessary. How is one to unite the interests of the country and society, property and the collective? What are needed here are scientific elaborations. Where has science gotten to? He spoke very strongly: Let them help in getting the new methods of economic management, and new economic relations underway in the various sectors.

By the way, the principle is clear, but in any sector even leasing has various manifestations. Each sector has its own specific features. There should be major work here.

I think that the question is being raised correctly, and in elaborating the problems of the Donbass as a whole we shall give the appropriate instructions concerning your sector.

It seems to be throughout the Ukraine, in our conversations in the Ukraine, we have once again been convinced how much in our country depends on our undeveloped construction base. We feel this. A number of decisions have been made to create, to develop the construction base, the construction materials base, to transfer to new methods, particularly to new methods of construction. [unidentified voice: Planning and design] Planning and construction. The monolithic, the monolithic method is very promising, comrades. It is what gives every collective the opportunity to get on with its work.

Today we gave a good hearing to the manager of a works—the mining equipment works, or what is it called? Well then, the mining equipment works. They decided, in order to solve the housing problem, to make the equipment themselves for this construction method and to go in for large-scale housing construction. Here in the Donbass, with the sort of base you possess, can you not get this undertaking underway for the miner and travel along this path? Of course you can, comrades. And the fact that a start has been made on using waste material from mining and mine production for this purpose is also very important. Therefore, I would say that it is necessary to make use of what restructuring in the country as a whole will provide for capital construction and that it is necessary also to make use of your own local reserves.

I would like to say only that in the near future the question of transferring our building workers onto new methods of construction will be resolved. The point is that they must, we must introduce major incentives into capital construction. We must make them work, accept credits and operate on credits and provide a return on them. At present very many of their methods which lead to squandering and to long drawn-out construction times are paid for both by the clients and the state. This cannot go on. As far as I know, elaboration of the draft law has already been completed.

I believe that all the ministers of the sectoral ministries took part in the discussion of this draft, and this question is now being discussed in the Council of Ministers.

The secretary of the party organization, Comrade er..[unidentified voices: (Ploshcheb)] (Ploshcheb) spoke here. I liked your speech. I liked it, because it really is necessary to improve the party activity on the same principles on which we started it—democratization, the development of the initiative of Communists. This democratization should be accompanied by our going out and solving these questions. That is how Communists understand things, and that is how things should be resolved. (?I am referring to the idea of direct electability). Communists should elect as their leaders those whom they can count on. I think that we shall unleash everything when we prepare proposals for the 28th congress. Perhaps even before, just before the congress, when there will be the report-back election campaign, we might go over to that. Finally there are the questions of monetary funds. We are resolving them, and we are now starting to transfer funds to the republics and the republics are transfering them to the primary party organizations without waiting for the Congress. This possibility exists, elaborations already exist, and we shall resolve this.

There is also the question of salaries. I had a conversation with comrades from Kemerovo Oblast. They said: We have virtually no one to select for party work. The salaries are R500, R600, R700, R800. People who are more or less knowledgeable, authoritative, whose voices would be listened to, whom people would consult, they must be taken from this selection, from among authoritative people. But among us the pay for a first secretary of a rural raykom is R330 or R350? [unidentified voices: R320] R320 - R330. But in a kolkhoz or sovkhoz, the chairman of a kolkhoz receives on average, in salary plus some more salaries according to the year's results, for a medium-sized farm, somewhere around R600 say, R700 to R800 or R1,200, and some get R1,500. And the specialist gets 80 percent of this or thereabouts. It turns out that a raykom secretary now, with regard to the actual level of pay received, is on the same level as the head of a section, a leader of a major team on a kolkhoz where these teams exist. So some sort of contradictions have arisen. I understand that we have never hurried over these questions of pay for party officials, so that there would be no gap between them and the people. On the contrary, from the start their pay should be on the same level as everyone in decisive sectors of the national economy, and it should rise in line with the general rise in wages. But now, it seems, this time has passed and indeed it is now difficult to find good people, the most active, authoritative people to enter the party apparatus. [unidentified voice: This is happening everywhere now] We are literally feeling this now.

And the load now on the party, on party workers—in the sense of ideological work, of going out to the masses of the people, and of resolving all these vast questions within the framework of the democratic process—is great. It seems that you were right to raise this question. We will give it thought, but we will resolve it in the context of all the changes in the country.

I simply decided to react to some of the questions which the comrades raised here. Indeed, this conversation shows once again that now we need to devote all of our strength, knowledge, experience, all of our time to make progress in every section, in every area in specific and practical terms.

Here is the slogan of the day: More action, more action. Maintaining openness, democratism in the discussion of all questions, and monitoring by the workers of the

actions of all cadres and organizations. At the same time it is necessary to lay ever greater emphasis on practical deeds. [applause]

PRAVDA Reports Donetsk Visit

PM2302122589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Second Edition pp 1,2

[PRAVDA special correspondent B. Glotov, V. Kozhemyako, and M. Odinets report: "Mining Area's Actions and Concerns: M.S. Gorbachev's Stay in Donetsk"]

[Excerpts] The next stage of the journey for M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was from Kiev to Donetsk—the capital of the mining region. He was met here at the airport 22 February by A.Ya. Vinnik, first secretary of the party obkom; V.V. Kucherenko, chairman of the oblispolkom; and other officials.

Labor Donbass warmly and cordially welcomed the leader of the party and the state. A meeting recently took place at the CPSU Central Committee with representatives of the country's working class at which pressing problems of restructuring were discussed and a frank exchange of opinions took place on the achievements and complexities in the matter of effecting the revolutionary transformation of our society. Mikhail Sergeyevich's meetings and conversations with working people in the Donbass were an extension of this important discussion.

Many people gathered on the city's main street that bears the name of Artyem and the central square named for V.I. Lenin. M.S. Gorbachev laid flowers at the memorial to V.I. Lenin here. R.M. Gorbacheva also laid flowers at the monument.

Then M.S. Gorbachev had an unconstrained conversation with the city's inhabitants. People spoke of their sincere support for the party's policy and the cause of restructuring and said which plans have already been able to be implemented. But, of course, they also spoke of painful problems.

I have a good knowledge of Donetsk Oblast, Mikhail Sergeyevich said. I have always liked Donetsk with its flowers and greenness. It is particularly surprising that the summers in your region are hot and that everything rapidly burns up. But your Donetsk is really a city of flowers. Is there enough water in the city?

Voices: There's enough—for the flowers....

M.S. Gorbachev: What about the apartment blocks, the top stories? Is a water channel being constructed for Donetsk?

Voice: It's still under construction, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

M.S. Gorbachev: I like miners. They are self-possessed, forthright, and open people. What's your life like? The last time I visited your city was almost 20 years ago.... Are there vegetables now?

Voice: Yes!

A worker from Donetsk Metallurgical Plant said that the ministry is still continuing its diktat. So, the "enterprise-ministry" question still exists, Mikhail Sergeyevich said aloud. Then he struck up a discussion on the transfer to complete economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. The main thing here, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary pointed out in connection with this question, is to organize reliable contacts between partners. We must try to resolve this problem ourselves now without relying solely on supply organs. But some enterprises, in connection with the broadening of their independence, are acting wrongly, they want to "monopolize the market" for their output and are attempting to sell it more rapidly and at higher prices to the detriment of others. That is why we have to create the economic levers to ensure that everyone seeks reliable partners and literally cannot live without them.

Another question was raised—about labor collectives' rights. Mikhail Sergeyevich replied that a labor collective council, if it wants, can and should now resolve any problems. We must make bolder use of our rights. Can it really be the case that someone has to come and put matters in order at our tens and hundreds of thousands of enterprises? We must set things to rights ourselves.

Then the leader of the party and state stopped by a group of miners and asked how things were going with them and how the introduction of the lease and economic accountability are proceeding. They talked about the achievements and complexities in their work and the prospects for the basin's development. Criticism was voiced regarding the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry owing to the insufficient attention it pays to a number of urgent problems in the Donbass.

M.S. Gorbachev remarked, inter alia, that his meetings with the working people of the Ukraine would be broadcast on "Vremya" and this conversation would probably be heard by Comrade Shchadov, minister of the coal industry—a businesslike man and experienced miner.

The city inhabitants also spoke of many domestic and social questions. It was a question of the work of construction organizations, transport, trade in food and industrial goods, and cases of lawbreaking.

A lively discussion ensued.

"What would you like to say," Mikhail Sergeyevich asked one woman.

"I want to express my great gratitude to you," Yekaterina Yegorovna Dolganyuk said excitedly. "I receive a pension and I have been given some land. On our land there's not only coal—flowers also grow there! It's not true that you can't restructure yourself and improve your life. I've dug out virtually half a meter of rubble on this land and redug it; what flowers there are now!"

At the end of this conversation M.S. Gorbachev stressed that the working class is the main motive force of restructuring. Consulting with workers and relying on their energy and support, the party will develop on an even broader scale the cause of renewing society in the interests of the country and the entire Soviet people.

Then M.S. Gorbachev visited one of the oldest enterprises in the Donbass—the "Donetskgormash" Production Association. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev inquired into questions of production, the introduction of economic accountability, and the fate of economic contract pledges among the workers and particularly stressed that economic ties between enterprises should be based on mutual understanding and high responsibility on the part of labor collectives and their leaders.

During his tour of the factory conversations cropped up over and over in workshops and the workers asked Mikhail Sergeyevich questions and voiced their proposals. The discussion also turned to what life and work are like for people in the mining region. It was felt that workers are deeply excited by restructuring processes. Many have ideas on how to speed it up. [passage omitted]

At the science and production association the CPSU Central Committee general secretary also touched on the role of sector science, particularly pointing out the need to coordinate it more closely with production tasks and do away with the practice of using scientific establishments to prepare information for reports. Mikhail Sergeyevich pointed out that sector institutes must help restructure production and resolve pressing technical and technological questions. Some sector institutes, he said, produced no output for years and made no scientific developments, yet scientists and specialists were paid as normal. This matter must be rectified via economic accountability and the introduction of contract relations. Everyone must be transferred to economic accountability.

Voice: We were awaiting you very eagerly, Mikhail Sergeyevich!

M.S. Gorbachev: Now we've seen one another.

Voice: We want to say that we are in favor of restructuring and things are going better already. Anyone who works properly has a better life.

Correct, Mikhail Sergeyevich backed him up. Everything's simple: The standard of living depends on the labor. But I must own that we have deviated from this healthy principle a little—both in industry and in the countryside. That is why it depends on the labor. If a man and a whole collective can work—they will reap the rewards.... We have unprofitable kolkhozes and sovkhozes that are effectively living off others. So, someone is working for them. Why should someone keep them?

Having asked workers detailed questions about working conditions and relations with the leadership, M.S. Gorbachev advised them to make in-depth, specific, and more objective investigations in assessing people. The conversation also turned to shortcomings in the sphere of trade and the shortage of consumer goods. Incidentally, Mikhail Sergeyevich inquired as to how many consumer goods the association produces. The answer was: Goods to a value of R10 million. You must produce more, Mikhail Sergeyevich remarked; all enterprises whatever they are involved in must produce goods for the people.

What is life like for people outside the plant? This was also discussed during a frank and confiding conversation. [passage omitted]

In the second half of the day M .S. Gorbachev met with the representatives of mining collectives at the Coal Industry Main Territorial Administration. [passage omitted].

Most of the speeches at the meeting with M.S. Gorbachev pointed out that miners' most complex problems are social ones. More than 60,000 miners' families don't have normal housing conditions today. Construction workers fail to construct a great deal of housing every year. However, it was also acknowledged that own-resources housing construction is slow to develop in the basin and the construction of individual homes for miners is developing feebly. Associations and mines have few own subsidiary units at present.

(A report on M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with the basin's miners at the Donetsk Mining Industry Main Territorial Administration will be published later—Editorial Office). [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev was accompanied by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V.S. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; and A.Ya. Vinnik, first secretary of Donetsk Party Obkom.

In the evening M.S. Gorbachev returned to Kiev.

Departs Donetsk for Kiev

LD2202172289 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Donetsk February 22 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev tonight left Donetsk, a regional centre in the Ukraine, for Kiev, the republic's capital.

After a meeting with Donetsk mine-workers in the Ukraine's mining industry centre, Gorbachev in his farewell remarks warmly thanked the city residents for hospitality and substantive and frank conversations.

Council of Ministers 'Streamlined,' 'Renewed'

LD2202121789 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 22 Feb 89

["Government Apparatus Streamlined, Says Newspaper"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—The make-up of the USSR Council of Ministers, formed at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1984 and consisting of 115 government members, has undergone considerable changes, according to Alexander Volgin, head of the Personnel Department of the Council, in an interview with the "GOVERNMENT HERALD".

He said the government had been reduced by 15 following the liquidation of separate ministries and departments. It was simultaneously replenished with the heads of newly established state committees. As a result the USSR Council of Ministers at present consists of 111 members, including 8 ministers "without portfolio" who are deputy chairmen of state committees.

Seventy five per cent of the USSR Council of Ministers has been renewed over this time. There are currently a total of 2,000 people in the government apparatus, half of them technical staff.

According to Alexander Volgin, far from all officials of the apparatus fully met the high standards expected of them. In some cases when specialists confirmed the calculations of ministries and departments regarding this or that project, the actual cost turned out to be 100-200 per cent higher. Some specialists who prepare a decision on an important issue forget about it immediately after the government resolution is endorsed.

Certification of the officials of the government apparatus was carried out for the first time in 1987. It made analysis possible of the current composition of personnel. As many as 167 senior officials were released from work in the apparatus in the pre-certification period for health and age reasons, and due to inadequate professional training. Demands placed on those certified were very high and far from all fulfilled them. Some retired on pension or changed their jobs. One in ten was demoted and 117 people were transferred to other units inside the apparatus. At the same time specialists, who proved themselves good in tackling the problems of our day, received promotion or wage rises on the recommendation of certification commissions.

Heads of units and consultants are now being selected on a contested basis. Offering a period of trial for the officials of ministries and departments, and scientists in the government apparatus is another form.

The average age of senior specialists is now 47 years, chief specialists 51. Twenty eight and 218 officials respectively have doctorate and candidate degrees.

Yelstin, Brakov Win Majority Votes in Moscow

LD2202134189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] A town constituency meeting of the national territorial constituency No 1 began yesterday at 1400 Moscow Time in the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions. At 0230, the counting commission announced the results of the voting. In between, nearly 13 hours were devoted to speeches, debates, and discussions. Ten candidates met with Muscovites in the Hall of Columns: Adamov, director of the "Kniga" publishing house; Brakov, director general of the "ZIL" motor works; Gorokhov, director of the "Losinyy Ostrov" National State Park; cosmonaut Grechko; cardiologist Dyachkova; Yeltsin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosstroy [state construction committee]; Zykina, USSR People's Artist; Kostyayeva, director of secondary school No 96; Poptsov, Taganskiy Rayon military commissar; and Skvortsov, research fellow of the Institute of Economics and the Forecasting of Scientific and Technical Progress. The professional knowledge, political views, and social interests of the candidates were fully shown during their presentation of political programs. The candidates had to field a virtual onslaught of written and oral questions, which sometimes were very sharp and straightforward. And here are the results of secret ballot.

A majority vote—more than half of the votes cast by participants in the meeting—was won by (Brakov), director general of the ZIL works, and Yeltsin, USSR minister. They were registered as candidates to the USSR people's deputies from Moscow City national and territorial constituency No 1 of the RSFSR.

Yeltsin Accuses Party of Suppression

AU2202142989 Paris AFP in English 1355 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, Feb 22 (AFP)—Boris Yeltsin, the radical Communist Party reformist, has accused the party machine of trying to undermine his campaign to be elected to the Soviet parliament next month.

Mr Yeltsin, who was Tuesday adopted as a candidate for the March 26 elections during a five-hour meeting in Moscow, accused regional party representatives of "trying to divert the course" of election meetings.

In an interview with the SOVIETSKAYA ESTONIA, the party daily in the Baltic Republic of Estonia, he also charged that the press had tried to suppress his name.

He said the party administration was against him because "a large number of cadres fear for their posts and their privileges." [passage omitted]

Earlier Tuesday, posters with poems backing Mr Yeltsin were put up in Moscow's underground stations and later quickly ripped down again. Mr Yeltsin's supporters also gathered outside the meeting hall with banners proclaiming: "Yeltsin you are perestroyka." Parts of the meeting were shown by Soviet television.

A spokesman at Mr Yeltsin's office said he would now have to choose quickly the district where he wanted to stand. Mr Yeltsin was proposed in several Soviet towns, but is widely expected to choose Moscow.

Mr Yeltsin is still vice-chairman of the State Construction Committee which gives him the rank of vice-minister.

In the SOVIETSKAYA ESTONIA interview, Mr Yeltsin renewed his criticism of the reform programme. He called for the setting up of nationwide "popular front" groups like one in Estonia organised to back President Mikhail Gorbachev's reform programme.

Mr Yeltsin also said the reforms should have concentrated more on the population's daily needs.

'Pointed' Questions Posed at Meeting

PM2302113189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 First Edition p 2

[TASS report under the rubric "USSR People's Deputy Elections on 26 March": "We Make Mistakes, We Argue, We Learn"]

[Excerpts] ...The stage in the House of Unions Hall of Columns presented an unusual picture: tables, arranged asymmetrically, with neat name tags for members of the okrug electoral commission, working group participants, and finally the ten candidates nominated by Moscow working people for the post of USSR People's Deputy from the city's No 1 National-Territorial Okrug.

Incidentally, a couple of weeks ago there were 17 of them. However, as I.N. Orlov, rector of the Moscow Power Engineering Institute and chairman of the okrug electoral commission, announced at the very beginning of the meeting, of the 106 submitted protocols of labor collective meetings, 96 were deemed valid, as a result of which 2 candidacies were rejected, another 2 contenders chose to run in other okrugs, and 3 others, including Academician A.D. Sakharov, withdrew their consent to run as candidates here altogether.

It was 1400 hours. By decision of a session of the okrug electoral commission held a few days ago, the following took their places at the "candidates" table—V.N. Adamov, director of the "Kniga" Publishing House; Ye.A. Brakov, director general of the "ZIL" Production Association; V.A. Gorokhov, director of the "Losinyy Ostrov" national state nature park; G.M. Grechko, USSR pilot-cosmonaut and head of a laboratory at the USSR Academy of Sciences Atmospheric Physics Institute; cardiologist N.V. Dyachkova; B.N. Yeltsin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosstroy and USSR minister; L.G. Zykina, artistic leader of the "Rossiya" state republican Russian folk ensemble; L.P. Kostyayeva, director of the No 96 Secondary School; V.I. Poptsov, Taganskiy Rayon military commissar; and S.B. Skvortsov, scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and the Forecasting of Scientific and Technical Progress.

In the hall there were almost 900 Muscovites, representing the labor collectives and social organizations which nominated the candidates for this okrug, and delegates from the capital's 33 rayons. There were also dozens of journalists, including foreign journalists.

The professional know-how, political views, and social interests of the candidates were fully revealed in the election programs which they presented. They set the aims of further deepening the restructuring of Soviet society, expanding democracy and glasnost, and solving the most difficult problems facing the country at the moment. Concrete ways were proposed to achieve a breakthrough in the sphere of the economy, improve the ecological situation in the capital and in other regions, enhance citizens' social protection, create a system of local self-management, strengthen supervision of the observance of legality, and prevent the abuse of power.

Once again the candidates mounted the rostrum in succession, in order to face a barrage of written and verbal questions—very pointed and impartial questions at times, let us note. For instance, about how the calls by one of the candidates to restore social justice are compatible with certain facts pertaining to the life of his family, or how the rather vague formulas of another contender concerning his attitude to Stalinist lawlessness and the outrages committed by supporters of the "Pamyat" Society are to be understood. There were also general questions which were put to all 10 of them: How do you intend to combine your duties as a deputy with your main occupation; what is your view of a multiparty system; do you regard as correct the primacy of administrative ordinances over state laws which can still be encountered today? [passage omitted]

It was 0230 hours. The vote-counting commission announced the results of the ballot. Ye.A. Brakov, director general of the "ZIL" Production Association, who had presented a serious and well thought-out program for the political renewal of society and radical economic and social transformations, won the greatest number of

votes (577 out of 875). The second place went to USSR Minister B.N. Yeltsin (532 votes). Having gained the approval of more than half the meeting's participants, they were registered as candidate USSR people's deputies for the RSFSR Moscow City No 1 National-Territorial Okrug. [passage omitted]

Candidate Tsarkov Urges Review of Military
PM2202133189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 3

[Statement by V.G. Tsarkov, commander of Moscow Military District Air Defense Forces, under the rubric "26 March—Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "Vladimir Tsarkov: 'To Monitor Defense Expenditures'"]

[Text] Vladimir Georgiyevich Tsarkov, born in 1933, commander of the Moscow Military District Air Defense Forces:

We need to restore the deputy's status as someone chosen by the people, to create a democratic legislative process based on consideration of public opinion, including via referendums. Voters must be given the right to pass a vote of non-confidence in a soviet if deputies fail to adhere to their wishes.

It is time to sort out the cost-of-living index right away and, on the basis of it, to adjust all fixed payments by the state, including stipends, pensions, and so on, two or three times a year.

One of the central tasks is to struggle for a rayon's social facilities. The availability of cultural and consumer service facilities in our okrug is 1.5-2 times below the city average. Should I be elected deputy, I will aim to ensure the fulfillment on schedule of the Moscow City Soviet's special program for the rayon's social development. It is necessary to pool the energies and resources of the rayon's enterprises for the sake of solving the housing problem. There must be a sharp increase in housing construction by all-union ministries.

In my opinion, it is necessary to make active use of a deputy's right to ask questions in the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee about the observance of current laws and other legal acts.

It is necessary to publicize the defense budget, to adjust [skorrektirovat] the structure and composition of the USSR Armed Forces with defense sufficiency in mind, to aim for the passing of a new Law on the USSR's Defense, and to review [peresmotret] the current draft procedure for military service.

***Current Stage of Campaign Marked by Uncertainty**
WA18000522 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with member of the Central Electoral Board, Doctor of Law Prof G. Barabashev, by V. Shchepotkin: "The Wave and the Ripples"]

[Text] The wave of election meetings in districts is picking up. What are the indications of the first meetings? This was the subject of an interview given to an IZVESTIYA correspondent by a member of the Central Electoral Board Doctor of Law Prof G. Barabashev.

[Shchepotkin] Let us begin with this very issue, Georgiy Vladimirovich: what are the indications of the first meetings?

[Barabashev] Indications are that electoral boards, the public and labor collectives are very unclear primarily about the composition of these very district election meetings. Despite recommendations in this matter already published in your newspaper (IZVESTIYA, No 24, 1989) questions are still being asked, I will try to repeat what has been said very briefly.

The pool of delegates to a district election meeting is divided into two segments. The first segment consists of representatives of the collectives, organs, social organizations and meetings of voters at their place of residence which nominated their candidates. The second segment, no less numerous than the first, consists of delegates of collectives and voters at the place of their residence who have not taken part in the nomination. We should particularly stress the following because questions are still coming—any nominating collective is entitled to the same number of delegates.

[Shchepotkin] So, it turns out that the more collectives have nominated the same candidate the larger his representation will be at the meeting? As the press reported recently, one major military commander was nominated by more than a hundred of collectives subordinated to him. Even if there is going to be one representative from every collective there is no doubt as to who is going to have an advantage.

[Barabashev] The fact that nominations were made by more than a hundred coollectives clearly suggests stage-management. No matter how popular a candidate is this is hardly possible in practice. In all of that, we should also figure out whether they nominated him or seconded his nomination. Collectives frequently second nominations made by others. We do not consider these cases to be nominations. This means that such a collective is not entitled to special representation. Anyway, the district electoral board, the main organizer of proper and lawful conduct of the entire election campaign in a specific area, is quite capable of and must sort this out.

At present, the interest in the operation of the district boards is heightened. From little-noticed and, let us say it, previously good-for-nothing entities which millions of people regarded with indifference they have now turned into an instrument of implementing democracy of paramount significance. The very course of the election campaign may depend to a large degree on how the boards operate and what kind of people are there. However, the citizens treated their formation without due responsibilty. As a result, some boards display vigor and civic approach, whereas others operate in the old mode and trust only their supervisors with making decisions. This is why I think that we should have called on the populace from the very beginning to nominate to the boards people who are adequately active and principled. In that event, there may have been fewer troubling occurences at present.

[Shchepotkin] I would like to touch on these very occurences. A couple days ago, our newspaper reported that a district election meeting in Melitopol allowed the registration, and, by this token, [participation in] elections of only one candidate out of 11—the first secretary of the oblast party committee. There have been other cases when district meetings leave for registration one candidate out of several people, who have different professions and hold different positions. Does this look like serious election struggle?

[Barabashev] According to the data of the Central Electoral Board, such a phenomenon has not become massive. However, the cases when a district election meeting leaves one candidate for registration concern us. I believe we should influence this process in some manner and keep it in mind that, after all, the electoral reform relies on the principle of competitive candidacies. This is why we have discussed this issue and exchanged our opinions in the Central Electoral Board. We should operate within the law. This means that participants in a meeting may agree ahead of time that they will submit for registration by no means one but rather two or another number of candidates, after which voting takes place.

[Shchepotkin] Who is entitled to propose this?

[Barabashev] Any official participant in the meeting.

[Shchepotkin] Is this done at the beginning of the meeting, or later?

[Barabashev] This may be done in the beginning, when procedures for the conduct of the meeting are established, but it may also be done after the presentation of the programs of candidates. The main point is to comply with the principle according to which the meeting must establish by a majority vote the number of candidates it submits for registration. It should do so having previously heard different points of view. Some would offer to leave two candidacies, others—three, and so on. Perhaps somebody would suggest to leave one candidacy. The law does not forbid this.

[Shchepotkin] The law does not forbid this, but what kind of an election will it be in this case? Electing one candidate out of one? What will remain in this case for voters who on 26 March will get ballots with one candidate? Will they not start voting by crossing out on a mass scale the name of a possibly quite worthy candidate thus protesting against stage-management? Such statements have already been received by our editorial office.

[Barabashev] This is the reason why, in my opinion, an effort should be made at district meetings not to reduce everything to one candidacy. How can this be done? Let us say, a meeting may decide by a majority of votes to submit for registration a definite number of candidates but no fewer than two, having selected these persons on the basis of results of voting for every person individually. Certainly, the district electoral board does not have the authority to obligate the meeting to proceed in this manner only. However, I believe that at any meeting an adequate number of delegates can be found with a clear civic position, who are prepared to resolutely uphold the principle of competitiveness.

[Shchepotkin] Another question out of the ones frequently asked these days. Does anybody have the right to ban the presence of representatives of the press, radio and television at a district election meeting?

[Barabashev] I would like to recall that it was said at the 19th All-Union Party Conference that elections should be held in an open manner. Hence my response to your question. In the course of elections, there can be no other kind of secrecy, no secret except that of the ballot.

[Shchepotkin] Nonetheless, telegrams are being received by IZVESTIYA concerning this topic. People complain that district electoral boards do not necessarily communicate to the voters certain data about the candidates, and make belated announcements about preparations for district meetings....

[Barabashev] Yes, we have been receiving reports like this at the Central Elecoral Board. However, along with these, there are other violations. The procedure for adopting resolutions is not necessarily followed at the meetings. All issues should be resolved by voting, as called for, through procedures rather than by shouting. It happens that someone in the presidium offers: let us have an open vote. And from the floor, they shout; "Go ahead! Go ahead!" "Let us consider that we will have an open vote," communicates the presidium. Meanwhile, this motion should be put to a vote, and its results should be entered in the minutes.

[Shchepotkin] Tell us whether any sanctions are envisaged in these cases. Could it be that actions by a commission due to which, let us be blunt about it, voters will not be able to take full advantage of their rights, would go unpunished?

[Barabashev] Recently, the Central Electoral Board passed a resolution on procedures for changing the composition of electoral boards, including district boards, at the request of the collectives which nominated their representatives to the boards. If such irregularities on the part of any member of the board are observed the issue of changing the composition will be raised. In my opinion, this will increase the responsibilty of the boards for upholding the law and procedure.

[Shchepotkin] By the way, something about procedures. We are used to plugging our ears as soon as we hear about them—they are dull! Actually, complying with procedures means complying with the law.

[Barabashev] Exactly! Minutes of a district meeting are a most important document which should show how the meeting proceeded, how the norms of the law and the democratic process were upheld. When you familiarize yourself with the minutes of some district meetings now they are simply shocking! It is absolutely impossible to judge how things developed on the basis of such minutes. This is why we should demand strictly that district election boards, leaders of district meetings—presidiums, chairmen, secretaries—to comply with all procedural norms of the law very accurately and precisely. When there is no order complaints emerge later. Take, for example, the procedure for discontinuing debate at some district meetings. Pursuant to the law, the freedom to make a presentation, an unabridged opportunity for all participants in the meeting to state their opinion concerning the candidates should be provided. Meanwhile, the experience of the first meetings shows that debates may be stopped after several shouts of "enough!" There were no votes on this issue, the opinion of all participants was not solicited. Later, people are outraged and complaints are lodged, and rightly so! It may be tiring indeed to sit at a meeting for several hours, but the endeavor is serious: we are electing a future people's deputy of the USSR. If we put it in a broader context, we are choosing the path we travel tomorrow. Nothing could be a trifle in this endeavor.

Student Teachers Riot in Tajik SSR Capital

PM2202160789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 89 p 2

[A. Ganelin report: "Who Struck the First Blow, Fedya?"]

[Text] Dushanbe—...A crowd of students formed up in front of the industrial teacher-training technical college in Dushanbe's Tsentralnyy Rayon on the evening of 20 February. Facing them was a a line of militiamen.

No, this was not an unauthorized rally, say, in defense of the environment or in support of a candidate. The students were not carrying banners but sticks and iron bars. The militiamen's repeated requests that the students disperse were met with a hail of stones. Shots were fired into the air and the militia went on the offensive. What happened that day, then?

On 20 February a group of unknown people burst into the hostel. Crushing all in their path, they beat up students. One college worker was injured. The students ejected them and ran out on to the street. As if blinded, the uncontrolled mob numbering around 150 people started assaulting passers-by and throwing rocks at buses. The students then burst into the "Tadzhikistan" movie theater, interrupted the performance, and attacked completely innocent members of the audience. The militia then arrived in response to the alarm. It was met with rocks. But the outrage was nevertheless quashed. One militiaman was hospitalized and several people sustained injuries. Inhabitants of the city were also hurt.

The day after the incident I asked students at the college why they had turned into a mob crushing all before it. And the young people, now calm and polite, shrugged their shoulders: We do not know ourselves. Our people had been beaten up, so we also began beating everyone up, indiscriminately.

It is now being established who burst into the student hostel and started the fight. The investigation now being energetically pursued will answer that question. I am certain that the instigators will be found without fail. But the paramount question is not a matter of investigation: Why were there enough sparks present for this disorder to break out in the hostel? Why did the students turn into a mob? After all, the technical college is not simply an industrial college but a teacher training one too....

Turkmenistan's Niyazov Addresses Writers

PM2002141189 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 4 Feb 89 p 1

[TURKMENINFORM report: "Meeting in the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] On 2 February S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, met with a group of leading Turkmen writers. There was a lively, committed exchange of opinions on the role and place of writers in restructuring, and on the necessity to increase the influence of literature on the shaping of public opinion in the spirit of renewal and of deepening the processes of cleansing and glasnost.

In inviting the writers to a frank discussion, S.A. Niyazov noted that the need for it had arisen a long time ago. It is time for us to listen to each other, and to express everything without embellishments and without concealing anything, since our aims and tasks are the same. [Passage omitted]

Recently I happened to talk with historians. In their view, never before in the history of the republic have such potential and opportunities existed for the thorough development of the individual, as those which are now

taking shape in the republic. How many centuries have the people lived in darkness and ignorance. This is indisputable. But something else is also indisputable—we know little about our people's history. We also have quite a lot of "blank spots." Questions of Turkmenia's annexation to Russia have not been studied fully. How did the discord among the Turkmen tribes and clans arise? Is it deeply rooted in history? Perhaps, it is a result of the perversions and distortions of the quite recent past called stagnation? Today we see that correct cadre policy is capable of rectifying these distortions and influencing tribal tendencies.

But are they so deep seated in the Turkmens, as people are wont to believe? The main point is that, despite all the trials which fell to their lot, our people derived from the crucible of history a healthy spirit, and the desire for a better life. History's "blank spots" are the domain of science, here everything must be confirmed by specific facts. But one thing is indisputable—Turkmenia's annexation to Russia had an exclusively progressive significance. We also know that there were always leaders among our people, there was an honest and an incorruptible system for selecting them—according to their courage, nobility and wisdom.

We must cherish our people's best traditions and be proud of them. We must not sink to false interpretations and gossip, which, unfortunately, do go on here and in the writers' sphere too. This situation should be changed. Of course, it did not come out of the blue, but resulted from a shortage of democracy, glasnost, and from distortions in cadre policy which also occurred in the cultural sphere. But now times have changed. It is time for writers also to actively renounce unhealthy accretions, and to conduct debates not around literature but about its very essence. And the people should be given the right to judge creativity, and they themselves should not pass judgment on each other on the basis of personal likes and grudges.

While on this subject, I would like to stress once more that we react keenly [goryacho vosprinimayem] to your mistakes only because we value you, and we see you as our helpers. But I would like your debates to develop into a pluralism of opinions, to be more civilized, and I would like there to be a more respectful attitude toward each other in these debates. And the main concern is that we need your writer's stance on all problems arising today. I would like to hear your opinion concerning the processes occurring in the republic, your attitude to the interethnic problems, in short, about everything that worries all of us today.

The writers T. Dzhumageldyyev, S. Urayev, A. Khaidov, Kh. Divankuliyev, Kh. Melyayev, B. Dzhutdiyev, K. Tangrykuliyev, A. Atabayev; A. Agabayev, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Union of Writers board; and N. Bayramsakhatov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, who spoke at the meeting, stressed the importance and the usefulness of such meetings. They spoke of the fact that the republic's writers are really in debt to restructuring. They write few genuinely topical works, which raise acute problems of the republic. The genre of current affairs writing seriously lags behind—yet, as practice has confirmed, this is a most important and essential weapon of restructuring. The writers were forced to acknowledge that the process of alienation among them had gone too far. Local self-interest, which is successfully being overcome as a whole in the republic, has became deeply rooted among the intelligentsia. The speakers said that relapses into tribalism and clannishness were not the reason for this but rather the desire to form special-interest groups, and to defend these groups sometimes contrary to common sense and contrary to the tasks of literature. The fading voice of writers not only at all-union level, but at home in our republic must force the entire writers' organization and its board to think about ways out of the situation which has come about. [Passage omitted]

The state of bilingualism in the republic as an important component in the culture of interethnic relations was the subject of a special discussion. It was stressed that, given the historically established respect for Russian as the language of interethnic contact in the republic, it is precisely bilingualism which is the basis and guarantee for the republic's further development. It was noted that it is essential for writers to penetrate more deeply into the laboratory of national relations, and to eliminate deafness to the processes of the people's growing national self-awareness as an important condition for enriching internationalism and fraternal ties between peoples.

Summing up the meeting, S.A. Niyazov noted that it had made it possible to become more deeply immersed in writers' problems, and to find out and sense their mood. Perhaps the conversation did not always proceed smoothly, we also heard conflicting opinions, but there is the fine hope that it will not pass without leaving its mark. I think that it is within your capabilities to resolve the problems and difficulties which have arisen. The main point is, and this is heartening, that writers correctly understand the contradictions emerging in our life, there are no isolationist tendencies, everyone advocates unity in the republic. This is our main achievement today. Let us strengthen it by amicable joint labor, and common efforts for the good of the republic and the people.

S.M. Nesterenko, second secretary of the Central Committee, and Kh. Durdyyev, secretary of the Central Committee, who are members of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, took part in and spoke at the meeting.

Kazakh Communist Party Bureau on Local Autonomy

PM1702165189 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 2

[KAZTAG report under the rubric "In Preparation for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum: To Improve Interethnic Relations": "Collective Quest for Constructive Solutions"]

[Excerpts] **The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau held an enlarged session attended by party obkom first secretaries and secretaries for ideology, deputy chairmen of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers,**

leaders of a number of republic ministries and departments, and representatives of the mass media.

The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee proposals for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the improvement of interethnic relations were examined. It has already been reported that a series of meetings were held between members of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and working people's collectives, representatives of the creative and scientific intelligentsia, and VUZ rectors. Work was done by commissions set up by the Central Committee for the elaboration of proposals concerning Kazakhstan's socioeconomic development, the republic's status, and language problems. The results were summed up and provided the topic for discussion at the session.

A report on these questions was delivered by U.D. Dzhanibekov, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. Speeches were also delivered by L.Ye. Davletova, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; K.A. Abdullayev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's Gosplan; writer G.K. Belger, chairman of the Language Problems Commission; Party Obkom First Secretaries Ye.N. Auyelbekov from Kzyl-Orda, A.V. Milkin from East Kazakhstan, M.R. Sagdiyev from Kokchetav, V.I. Lokotunin from Karaganda, N.T. Knyazev from Kustanay, S.M. Bayzhanov from Dzhambul, Yu.N. Trofimov from Aktyubinsk, S.A. Medvedev from North Kazakhstan, and K.Kh. Tyulebekov from Alma-Ata; and N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers.

The results of the discussion were summed up by G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

N.V. Bagrov, section chief at the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, took part in the session's work.

We publish below materials from the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in summary form. [passage omitted]

More Rights—Greater Responsibility

Speaking about the concept of regional economic accountability and the further improvement of interethnic relations, the speakers gave much attention to the questions of enhancing the republic's status. Moreover, the expansion of its autonomy in the solution of problems concerning the acceleration of socioeconomic development was, as a rule, closely linked with the enhancement of the center's role. The need for this is conditioned by the very essence of the Soviet economy and the federal nature of our united socialist state. It is necessary to ensure the correct combination of the center's and the periphery's rights in line with the interests of the common cause, as well as a harmonious interconnection between coordinating activity by the center and local initiative.

This is understandable. There are, after all, quite a few spheres of social activity where it would be more expedient if the reins of their administration were to be concentrated in just one set of hands, which would be in the interests of the entire Union and of each republic. These spheres should include foreign policy, defense, finance, and industry's base sectors.

The remaining issues could be painlessly handed over to union republic governments and local soviets. These are primarily housing and municipal construction, trade, consumer services, local transport, health care, and cultural, educational, tourist, and other institutions satisfying the population's needs. This should also include the agro-industrial complex, light industry and, of course, local industry, the bulk of the construction industry, the construction materials industry, and the timber and wood processing industry except in regions specializing in timber procurement work.

It obviously would be impossible to manage without also transferring to union republic jurisdiction sundry intersector production units, power and water supply installations, communications, storage facilities, transport services and utilities in residential zones and rayons, urban purification facilities, and enterprises in all sectors under union jurisdiction but specializing in consumer goods manufacture.

There also should be more concern for creating a reliable base for republics' self-financing and for guaranteeing noninterference by union organs in this work. It was specifically said that up to 40 percent of union enterprises' profits ought to be paid into Kazakhstan's budget. As well as turnover tax received by union republics on the sale of finished products manufactured from raw and other materials supplied by them.

Other proposals aimed at consolidating the republic budget were also expressed. Some speakers argued the need to give the republic additional rights in setting norms for charges levied in respect of capital, manpower, and natural resources, and tax rates on enterprises' profits and the revenues of cooperative and public organizations. Furthermore, any additional revenues received in the process of implementing the budget and any savings on expenditure, including capital investments, must be left at the republic's disposal.

Attention also focused on the quest for ways to enhance the influence of republic organs on union enterprises in the planning process, including their indicators in comprehensive plans for territories' socioeconomic development.

In the new conditions, in addition to generally accepted factors, it is impossible to overlook factors like the initial state of the social sphere, the size and development stage of territories, population density, the size and structure of families, national customs, and prospective changes in the national economy's structure.

It is equally important to ensure that the republic has the right to autonomously set up republic scientific research, design planning, and technological organizations and to determine their specialization. This will make it possible to respond more flexibly to production needs and to concentrate scientific research on promising avenues of technical progress.

Many changes have to be implemented in the capital construction sphere. Bearing in mind the negative experience of countless construction schedule overruns, sundry "never-ending projects," and work done on "half-baked" and downright dubious projects, republics must be given an opportunity to determine for themselves the volume and geographical siting of capital investments allocated by the budget. It is desirable to extend this to the construction of all projects for production purposes and the entire social infrastructure, including those built during the construction of enterprises under union jurisdiction.

The following approach would also be logical: Under no circumstances should union departments site new industrial complexes or expand already existing ones without the republic's consent. Moreover, the final decision must rest with local soviets. Another quite important detail: The time has come to give some thought to enhancing the role played by republic nondepartmental expert opinion in assessing the progressiveness of planned construction projects and their harmlessness for the environment.

Perceiving the dialectical approach as the only correct one for solving the aforementioned and other problems, session participants emphasized not only the need to give the republic and local soviets decisive self-management rights but also the importance of enhancing their responsibility to the utmost. Specifically in questions concerning the utilization and rational deployment of labor resources, social policy, equalization of individual regions' degree of development, and satisfaction of the specific needs of certain groups and strata of the population. This can be achieved provided there is access to additional levers of influence. For example, by introducing taxation and other measures to stimulate the creation of new jobs in regions with a labor surplus. Or: Within the limit of funds available to the republic, to institute higher (than all-Union) benefits and subsidies for newly married couples and mothers of large families, to introduce supplementary and additional payments to workers in various sectors in the nonproduction sphere, and to provide advantages for those working on the opening up of new territories with harsh climatic conditions.

In the opinion of many speakers, there is another problem which has to be solved. This is the granting of full rights to union republics as regards the publication of necessary material, especially in national languages. With due consideration, of course, for their self-financing.

There was also talk about the expediency of giving republics broader rights in the expansion of foreign economic, scientific, technical, and cultural ties.

With Concern for Bilingualism

The session conducted a detailed discussion on language problems. In a multinational republic like Kazakhstan, the choice of a medium of contact between people is determined by a series of political-economic and sociocultural factors. On the one hand, the multitude of spoken languages acts as a guarantee of the preservation of every national culture while, on the other hand, the urgent needs of the intensification of the country's single national economic complex demand the elaboration of the best possible ways for language building and speech behavior.

But the discussion of various aspects of this problem is often reduced by some specialists and scientists to nothing more than linguistic factors without consideration for any other of life's important realities. Some people seriously assume that if one language or another is given the status of a state language, this will automatically guarantee its development. But even the best law must be backed up by specific deeds if we wish to see it in action. Only thus can the desirable become reality.

Much is being done to this end. In line with the well known Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and republic government resolutions, work on the affirmation of Kazakh-Russian bilingualism has been noticeably stepped up. School instruction is conducted in the Kazakh, Russian, Uigur, Uzbek, and Tajik languages, while nine other languages—German, Korean, and others—are studied as native languages. Books, newspapers, and journals are published in six languages.

Furthermore, the number of students enrolling to specialize as Kazakh language and literature lecturers has doubled (from 502 to 1,029). The German Drama Theater will soon move to Alma-Ata. The building of a Korean theater and an Uigur theater in the capital is being planned.

The promotion of practical measures to establish real bilingualism, and the creation of propitious conditions for free choice, development, and equal use of native languages by all citizens have a favorable effect on the moral atmosphere in the republic and further the cultivation of high standards of interethnic relations. But many problems still remain unsolved. For example, existing opportunities to develop bilingualism in the spheres of education and official correspondence remain

unutilized, as they did in the past. The introduction of simultaneous translations during local soviet sessions and other sociopolitical events is progressing only slowly.

Take the Kazakh State University as example. It has skilled cadres and a sound material base; nor does it experience any shortage of young people wishing to learn languages. Students approached the deans' offices with requests to have study circles organized for them even a year ago. In the History Faculty, for example, there were 88 students wanting to study Russian and 45 students wanting to study the Kazakh language. But study facilities were simply not provided.

Justified alarm is also caused by the following facts: The number of Kazakh schools and students in them continues to diminish every year. On 1 September 1988 there were 7,600 fewer children attending schools with tuition in the Kazakh language than in 1986. It must be admitted that, as in the past, children's study periods are taken by teachers who are not specialists in their native language. Take Alma-Ata for example. Over the last 2 years the number of Kazakh language teachers there has doubled, but their qualitative composition remains the same—213 of the 343 teachers have no specialized training. To this day not a single Kazakh language department, not a single school in the republic has language laboratory facilities.

Nor has there been any improvement in the republic as regards the study of the Russian language, especially in Chimkent, Guryev, Semipalatinsk, and Kzyl-Orda Oblasts. Quite a few teenagers among those drafted for army service have poor knowledge of the Russian language. This also applies to a large number of the young men and women enrolling in VUZ's and secondary specialized education establishments. Hence the difficulties in training, the unjustifiably high drop-out rate, and the poor quality of general and vocational training.

The next task is to introduce, as of 1 September 1989, tuition in their native language for Kazakh students who have graduated from national schools until such time as they become fluent in the Russian language. This would necessitate the formation of additional groups. But this is only a halfway measure. There must be serious improvement in the teaching of the Russian language in Kazakh, Uigur, and other national schools.

Briefly speaking, the prestige of a language can be boosted not by slogans and decrees but by its actual users, by people. And in order to teach someone to use his native language, it is necessary to begin with oneself. Take official correspondence for example. This is the 2d year in succession that there has been persistent talk about the need to conduct it in two languages, but so far very little has changed. People are indignant at instances when documents are drafted in the Kazakh language and have to be specially translated into Russian for the raykom or obkom. Does the solution of such a question really require instructions from the top?

Take another aspect. Those selfsame Kazakh rayons continue to receive documents from diverse oblast organizations only in the Russian language. The same complaint can also be addressed to republic ministries and departments.

To continue. Courses for the training of simultaneous translators have not been organized in a single oblast, while Kazakh language typists can be found only in Guryev and Dzhambul Oblasts. Semipalatinsk, Kokchetav, Chimkent, and other oblasts reply in Russian to citizens' letters written in the Kazakh language.

No matter where people go—savings bank, hairdresser's, or post office—they are addressed, as a rule, only in Russian. Replies to "09" [emergency service] telephone calls in the Kazakh language can be heard only in some of the republic's oblasts. Bilingualism is virtually nonexistent in health care institutions, registry offices, public transport, and many airports and railroad stations. In this context it was suggested that a list of vocations which demand knowledge of both Kazakh and Russian language be drawn up, proceeding, of course, from every region's local conditions.

The following question is also fairly important. Very often, on entering an institution, there are no signs, information boards, citizens' reception schedules, and other sources of information in the two languages. Various instructions, regulations, and rules, names of population centers, and inscriptions on monuments, memorial plaques, and labels are still composed in only one language. This also applies to visual agitation.

Are all these problems insoluble? The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee recommended that all these questions be solved in the period of preparation for the CPSU Central Committee plenum. Summing up the results of the discussion, the session participants unanimously advocated utmost establishment of bilingualism as the main avenue for the implementation of language policy in the republic. Speakers emphasized that, in the conditions of multinational Kazakhstan, the best option for a solution to this question would be to give state status to both the Kazakh and the Russian language.

The process of correcting sundry deformations in a delicate and complex sphere like interethnic relations, and in language practice in particular, is lengthy and exceptionally difficult. It is absolutely impossible to rely on feelings and emotions in this work. A much more reliable approach is provided by calm and considered discussion of all aspects of the problem which perturb people on a strictly scientific basis and respect for opponents' opinions.

The frank and keen discussion at the Central Committee Bureau session reflected the wide range of views on a series of topical problems of life in the republic. The recommendations and approaches elaborated at the session will certainly provide an additional impetus to the stepping up of party committees' work to prepare for the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum, further improvem interethnic relations, enhance of Communists' and all working people's responsibility for the implementation of the most important socioeconomic development programs and the implementation of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions.

Alma-Ata Commission To Fight Commercial Abuses

LD2102180689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] In Alma-Ata a republican commission has been set up to combat speculation and abuse in the distribution of and trade in goods in high demand. The commission is headed by Comrade Kolbin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party.

It is reported that last year alone in the system of trade and consumer cooperatives in the republic, goods were embezzled to the value of more than R5 million. About 1,000 people have been taken to court. Moreover there are quite a lot of goods which were simply damaged and did not reach the consumer. Distortions of prices in lease and cooperative trade are practised along with selling short weight and concealing goods under the counter for resale later. Penalties for unauthorized distribution and speculation will be tightened up. It is planned, for instance, to increase by law the single fine for speculation to R100. Verfication methods are to be examined in working collectives.

Brazauskas' Anti-Sajudis Remarks Criticized

LD2302003589 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 22 Feb 89

[(Radu Dobilis) commentary]

[Text] Two broadcasts, one on Lithuanian TV and the other on the radio, kept hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians glued to their TV and radio sets yesterday night. They were both of approximately the same length, and they overlapped in their broadcasting time for about a half hour, thus putting before the Lithuanian citizen a dilemma: Which of the two important events to give his preference to, of course if one did not choose to attend to them both at a time.

One of the broadcasts was a live radio report from Italy, where the (Jaiduris) basketball team were playing a return match against the local (Cassurta) in the semifinals of the European Cup winners' cup. One of the two teams was to qualify for the finals, the other was to be eliminated from further competition. As it became evident somewhere around midnight, (Jaiduris) came out the loser.

Now the second broadcast, that on TV, also proved to be kind of a match, with a winner and a loser. Or was it rather a reflection of the match played earlier on the same day and perhaps during a few recent weeks or months? The TV program was an account of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party. The participants in the TV broadcast were the three top leaders of Lithuania: the first party secretary, Algirdas Brazauskas; the president, Vitautas Astrauskas; and the premier, Vitautas Sakalauskas. Seeing all the three in one and the same program is a pretty rare occurrence here in Lithuania, which accounted for the interest that last night's TV broadcast aroused among the population.

The party secretary, Algirdas Brazauskas, said that the plenary session had been convened, after much consideration, in order to discuss ways of the realization of the urgent tasks which the party had to solve first to justify its role of the leading force in society. The way I understand it, Algirdas Brazauskas admitted by that the party had been lately losing positions to grassroots movements, of which the Lithuanian reform movement, Sajudis, is the most influential one. Thus, in the recent by-election to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, a young Sajudis activist eliminated the first secretary of a big Lithuanian city. While another member of the Sajudis Seimas council, a lawyer, had a walkover victory in another constituency, to use sports language.

In about a month, an election of people's deputies of the Soviet Union will be held and the Sajudis people seem to be rather strong in all the 42 constituencies in Lithuania. And then autumn election to Lithuanian parliament is also approaching. Was that perhaps the reason why the party started strengthening its positions by way of criticising Sajudis? A TV speech by Algirdas Brazauskas actually sounded like a serious indictment to Sajudis. It was accused of having withdrawn from the program adopted at its founding congress last October. According to Algirdas Brazauskas, Sajudis people had nearly ousted the word socialism from their vocabulary and had started talking of a national liberation movement in Lithuania, instead of promoting perestroyka, as is laid down in the program of Sajudis. Algirdas Brazauskas noted, and later the Lithuanian president and the premier seconded his opinion, that certain political demands by Sajudis, like independent Lithuania, were not acceptable. Nor were they were realistic in the context of the complex political and economic links with the rest of the Soviet Union. So the plenum of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party is likely to go down in history as a turning point in the relations of the party with grassroots movements.

Although Algirdas Brazauskas said that the word consolidation was the keyword at the plenum, although he spoke that the party would like to cooperate with all public movements, what remains obscure is on what terms. Is consolidation of all layers of society to be sought through political dialogue and debate? That

would seem to be in harmony with the concept of a pluralism of views, so much talked of these days here. Or is consolidation going to be built on the I'm-the-Master-and-I-know-best principle?

Last night, when (Jaiduris) started losing heavily to the Italian basketball club, our sports commentator said the referee's judgements were biased against (Jaiduris), thus eliminating some of its best players and crushing the spirit of our team. And who is to be the referee in our political situation? Yesterday night I thought that the next day the Sajudis people would express their stand about the present situation and about the plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party. I had expected to hear that on a Wednesday evening live TV program; The Wave of Revival. This morning, however, I opened a newspaper to find that the weekly program given on TV to Sajudis people was not going to be shown tonight. A feature film—A Swede Who Was Missing—was announced instead. Eliminated from further competition, is it? Just like the Lithuanian basketball (Jaiduris) in Italy last night?

What I'm also trying to grasp now is how our authorities are going to put into practice the law on elections. I mean, that particular Article 44, which guarantees equal rights to all candidates to present their election platforms at meetings and in mass media, TV included. The authorities might find it pretty difficult, unless they make use of the next Article 45, saying that a candidate's platform must not be at variance with the Soviet Constitution or the Soviet laws. Well, we'll see it soon.

Lithuanian Plenum Explores Paths of Restructuring
PM2202153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA special correspondent A. Chernenko "Notes on the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum": "The Bell and the Ringers"]

[Text] Vilnius—There is no other way: Restructuring processes, democratization, and glasnost will not tolerate development "by circular." In this respect Lithuania is no exception.

The republic has become an arena of fierce debate, during which many interesting and—most importantly—realistic development concepts have emerged, particularly the model of regional economic accountability created through the concerted efforts of scientists, politicians, and the creative intelligentsia. But for a time fruitful competition was giving way to exclusively political debate that was rather remote from the practical realities of the day. The efforts of a number of public groups swung sharply in the direction of exacerbating interethnic relations, idealizing the bourgeois model of society, and counterposing ideas of regional exclusiveness to the ideas of statewide restructuring. There was a eager and utterly frank discussion of this at yesterday's Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum.

It is an indisputable fact that the Lithuanian Communist Party has boldly held out its hand to the initiators of all manner of movements for restructuring, has openly addressed the "green" movement, the clergy, and language problems, and is upholding most vigorously the idea of republican economic accountability, which could deal a blow to ministerial diktat. The package of priority tasks includes ecological problems, the return of real power to the soviets, and the further de-Stalinization of society.

There would seem to be a broad scope for fruitful collaboration among all restructuring forces. So why was serious concern expressed in Central Committee First Secretary A. Brazauskas' speech, and in the discussion of his report on the political situation in the Republic?

At the height of the renewal process emotional extremes are unavoidable. But what one is seeing increasingly at the moment is an extreme of a different kind—an obstinate, calculated desire on the part of a number of "new politicians," first to skim the cream off the positive programs put forward by the party and, second, simply to disparage or ignore its authorship. Certain people have tried to take credit for all that the republican Communist Party Central Committee and government have done to rehabilitate Stalin's victims and tackle language problems, and to struggle against stagnation processes. This political plagiarism is a kind of pedestal for a number of groupings which are currently practicing the tactics of extremes quite deliberately, it would appear. It was noted at the plenum that extreme positions have started to dominate the activities of "Sajudis," or at least of some of its leaders and members. The germ of this was evident at the initial stage of the movement's formation, but it was seen as growing pains. But today the movement has started to drift away from its program provisions. Consciously or unconsciously a section of "Sajudis" has overtly associated itself with the slogans of the blatantly antisocialist "League" and so-called "Party of Lithuanian Democrats."

The media serving "Sajudis" and other movements (now more than 40 publications with a total run of half a million copies) are making an increasing effort to confront the party with large chunks of not so much constructive criticism as provocative materials that encourage hostility to the Communist Party and Soviet organs of power. The archaeologist R. Rimantene claims on the pages of VOZROZHDENIYE (6 Jan 89) that there is a "long-standing **secret instruction** (sic—A. Chernenko) that in the capital...of the Republic the proportion of local inhabitants ("natives") should not exceed 40 percent, and in the Republic as a whole 60 percent. (How this reeks of the colonialism of olden days!) These documents were inaccessible to mere mortals, including me. But if there is something we do not know, we have to rely on those who do know...." Further on, citing mythical interlocutors, the author writes that workers coming to Lithuania from other parts of the country are "preprogramed to establish an opposition body (I learned this from the enterprise workers themselves)."

This and similar essentially provocative items have the potential for creating a split between the constructive innovations of the Lithuanian Communist Party and ordinary public consciousness, and they fuel the fire of complex interethnic relations.

But what about the party and Komsomol press? Certainly the fierce criticism of it at the plenum was no accident. Basically, at the moment, it is either not keeping up with the dynamics of events or it is behaving with obvious timidity and staying neutral. This has meant that the leadership of a number of publications and of the Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting has clearly forfeited principled positions. A number of rayon papers are printing materials of an overtly nationalist, destructive nature, molding a public opinion that runs counter to the concept of socialist pluralism. And is this concept compatible with unbridled defamation of one set of people and the totally unbridled exaltation of others? "We shout ourselves hoarse cursing the newspaper campaigns of the thirties, forties, and fifties, which automatically turned those under fire into the victims of Beriya's camps, so why are we reluctant to see that the press of the ultrarestructurers is using the same methods today? It is literally shutting the mouths of those who dare to criticize their leaders," I was told by a party worker. "And, finally, why, even in the party press, am I denied the opportunity to defend my viewpoint?" Unfortunately, this bitter rejoinder is a reflection of reality.

Whom should one criticize more—the editors of the "Sajudis" publication, or the party committees? Why have the secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms essentially farmed local press organs out to various currents and groupings, and why is the republic Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Department behaving so timidly? These matters are of special significance, because, as speeches at the plenum make clear, there is an unprincipled element in the republic's Communist Party. Life has demonstrated that not everyone can stand the test of restructuring. Some have asked to leave the party. And I think Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary A. Brazauskas was absolutely right when he said that we must not try to keep in the party people who place personal ambitions above the CPSU Statutes and Program, who say one thing and do another. There are many examples of this.

At a meeting between a group of members of the "Sajudis" sejm council and delegates of the European Parliament, a statement was signed which is overtly hostile to Soviet Lithuania. Unfortunately it was also signed by some party members. This tactic is called "sitting on the fence".... It is particularly worrying that these are not isolated instances, but a trend that is evident in a number of party committees. Including the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

"What bothers me today is the extent to which we remain Communists if we are afraid of saying the words 'comrade,' 'Soviet' and 'socialist Lithuania,'" I was told at the plenum by A. Stankyavichus, candidate member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. "Why do we rarely hear these terms even among the leadership?"

Y. Guretskas, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was even more explicit:

"What I propose is: Let Communists who do not support the party statutes and program, who see the party's past errors as its future goal, leave the party. We can do without that kind of Communist."

Unfortunately, in a number of party committees Communists have simply "gotten lost" in the election campaign process, surrendering the initiative to "Sajudis" support groups. In some places they did not even bother to ensure that secretaries of party organizations and leaders of other public organizations were elected as delegates to meetings and conferences nominating candidate deputies. A poll in a number of places showed that one-third of Communists amd Komsomol members take their bearings from "Sajudis" support groups when making political decisions.

There is no doubt that there are intelligent and sober-minded people among the candidates from "Sajudis" and from other public currents. And the richer the spectrum of the body of deputies, the richer and more effective the collective socioeconomic doctrine will be. But any doctrine, even the best, can drown in a sea of demagoguery. Especially if it is painted a nationalist hue. It was clearly emphasized at the plenum that the threat of a split on ethnic grounds is rather serious. There is obvious confrontation on the "language front" between the extreme wing of "Sajudis" and "Unity," which includes the non-Lithuanian section of the population and has chosen strikes as an "instrument of pressure." The calls for consolidation remain mere words, while passions have acquired a very high intensity. This is being rather adroitly exploited by antisocialist elements presenting slogans ranging from "ethnic purity" to "withdrawal from the USSR." The latter slogan is based on total political ignorance and economic adventurism: "The Western countries will help put us on our feet," "On the second day they will shower us with Japanese cars." And although most prudent, sensible Lithuanians are skeptical about this "doctrine," some immature people are influenced by the demagoguery.

"It has become fashionable not to approve of the actions of the Central Committee and Government," K. Zalyatskas, first secretary of Vilnius party gorkom, said. "This is because at the start of restructuring the Central Committee failed to give its work a clear direction."

The Lithuanian Communist Party is currently facing a complex range of problems. This is understandable; the "atmosphere of debate" in the republic was bound to

result in certain hiccups in the economy, in the activity of social institutions, and in everyday life in general. In components of the Academy of Sciences, where in the opinion of V. Sakalauskas, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the republic Council of Minmisters, party committees are losing a lot of influence, scientific work has become less intensive, scientific journals' editorial boards have no manuscripts to publish, and, at the same time, there is a dire shortage of objective scholarly opinion and evaluation of the dozens of contradictory social and economic concepts currently being put forward on the right and on the left.

Mention was made of the steady growth of negative phenomena in the legal sphere—there has been an increase in thefts of state and personal property, hooliganism, drunkenness, and financial chicanery. And this, in turn, is being used for propaganda purposes by forces very remote from real restructuring.

Democracy and glasnost are like a giant bell. One, indeed, that has been silent for a long time. At best it has sounded only "as necessary." Today, however, each of us has the right to ring it. The question is—for what purpose? We have no right to ignore the fact that the bell is being struck not only by the fighters for restructuring; it is also being furiously struck by ringers who have tuned into restructuring but are very remote from its true goals. This constant ringing is disorienting and deafening people. It leads to a situation where the scaffolding we are erecting, the edifices of restructuring, are taking on the outline of the biblical Tower of Babel. And, as we know, they were unable to complete that because the builders lost their common language.

The campaign that is being conducted in the press, on television and radio, and in various informal organizations' publications to vilify the Lithuanian Communist Party and its leaders, and the spreading of anticommunist fabrications and idealization of the bourgeois system, are incompatible with the creation of normal conditions for social development, A. Brazauskas stressed. No wonder the plenum categorically stated the need to make more rigorous use of the law against ideologists and organizers of destabilization. But the main thing is that gorkoms and raykoms must unite all the most conscientious and active working people, irrespective of whether or not they belong to informal organizations, in an all-people's front, to solve the tasks of restructuring.

The potential of the republic's party organizations is great, making it possible to unite all its true fighters around the true goals of restructuring.

***Emergency Shutdown at Ignalina AES 20 Jan**
WA18000565 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 21 Jan 89 p 3

[ELTA report: "Disrepair at Ignalina AES"]

[Text] The Ignalina Atomic Energy Station reports that on 20 January at 1420 hours, disrepair of the electronic part of the first energy block became evident. The reactor automatically shut down in a quick-response emergency defense procedure. There were no violations of the conditions and limits of secure operation or equipment damage. Causes for the disrepair are being determined.

Measures To Offset Armenian Nuclear Plant Shutdown
NC2302074289 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1830 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Dear compatriots, you are already aware from our newscasts that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, taking into consideration the wishes of the Armenian people, have passed an extremely important decision on closing the operations of the Armenian nuclear power station. The workers of the republic approved, and gratefully welcomed that exceedingly important decision, considering it yet another fervent manifestation of the case which the party and government treat our people. At last the solution of a problem which had perturbed our people for the last decade is at hand. The countdown has started for the termination of the operations of the nuclear station.

Naturally, the power output will decrease and obvious difficulties will emerge as regards economic development and servicing the populace.

Shavarsh Kharoyan, deputy chief engineer of the Armenian power production unit, while talking to us, said:

[Begin Kharoyan recording] The Armenian power production unit has undertaken a series of measures in connection with the closure of the nuclear station. Let us first mention that considerable drafting and construction work had been done in the previous year to render the power distribution network ready for the new conditions. In addition, it is planned to enlarge the Razdanskiy state district power station with four additional powerful energy units. The efficiency of the functioning power stations will be enhanced and the installations with energy potential will be reconstructed and re-equipped. [end recording]

The [word indistinct] earthquake took our people by surprise. Everyone is aware of the enormous importance and significance of power in these trying days, and the enormous responsibility laid before the Armenian power workers. Today, we have no right to procrastinate. We must brace ourselves, work with total dedication, and do everything to eliminate the consequences of the catastrophe in the shortest possible time and heal the wounds of the disaster, so that the artery of life and existence could pulsate more energetically.

Armenian Party Ideological Department Meets 16 Feb
NC1702162589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] The first session of the ideological department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee took place on 16 February under the chairmanship of Galust Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

According to the extensive report published by ARMENPRES, during the session the basic (?modes) of activity of the department for 1989 were discussed. The participants discussed the pressing problems of ideological work by the party committees, ideological, scientific and enlightenment organs, mass information systems, and public organizations, and the organization [of the ideological work] within the framework of the present phase of economic and political reform.

Galust Galoyan referred to the work expected from the republican ideological services at this responsible moment of perestroyka when a shift is being made towards the fulfilment of the plans for socio-economic and political transformation.

At the meeting, the work plan for the first quarter of 1989 of the ideological department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee was defined by taking into account the suggestions made during the exchange of views.

'Unfounded' Rumors Spread About Arrest in Armenia
NC2302072689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Irresponsible people have been disseminating all types of rumors lately concerning the circumstances of the arrest of Comrade Muradyan [not further identified] by the investigatory [word indistinct]. Such rumors are unfounded. The circumstances of his arrest are in full accord with the existing provisions of the law.

With a view to strengthening the judicial supervision and to implementing the 29 (?July) 1988 decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic concerning meetings, public gatherings, street demonstrations and marches, the republic's procurator has instructed rayon and city procurators to officially forewarn the population and the individuals who agitate for illegal meetings and demonstrations.

Earthquake Reconstruction Work Begins in Kirovakan
PM2302111689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the rubric "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission": "Kirovakan: Construction Begins"]

[Text] A start has been made on mass housing construction in Kirovakan—one of the Armenian cities most affected by the earthquake. All those taking part in the restoration work—construction detachments from the Ukraine and Belorussia, as well as the union ministries of medium machine building and the coal industry—have embarked on laying the foundations for apartment blocks. Together they are to hand over more than 300,000 square meters of housing to the people of Kirovakan this year. Questions of accelerating this work were examined at the latest working session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission, which was conducted by L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on 21 February.

The construction workers reported to the commission on the measures they are adopting to ensure the commissioning of all the facilities stipulated in the plan target for the 1st half-year. The pace of housing construction set is very high. Suffice it to say that the Ukrainian construction workers must commission 530 apartment blocks this year—that is, hand over nearly 2 blocks a day. To ensure the unconditional fulfillment of these plans, some 16,000 construction workers will arrive in Armenia from the Ukraine.

The commission pointed to the need to provide facilities for the incoming construction workers. At the same time it warned that in this matter all union republics, ministries, and departments participating in the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake must rely on their own resources. Workers and specialists seconded to the republic should not be housed in the newly erected apartment blocks. All the new housing will be handed over exclusively to the inhabitants of the afflicted cities and settlements. Not a single Armenian family from the disaster zone can be allowed to remain in a tent next winter.

Once again there was serious criticism of the work of the republic Gosstroy, which is slow to resolve questions of the management of construction subunits and the coordination of their collaboration. The collection of up-to-date information on the course of construction work in the affected regions of Armenia has not yet been organized, and there is no system for checking the decisions adopted, as a result of which the plans and schedules that are approved sometimes diverge drastically from the real state of affairs on the spot.

A report on the fulfillment of the comprehensive plan for restoring industry in the affected regions was delivered by representatives of the union Ministry of Light Industry and Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry. The commission approved the initiative of the Kirovakan illumination engineering plant collective on the production of housing units for the plant workers' needs in its shops that are now open.

Mention was made of the successful progress of work to restore light industry enterprises in Kirovakan, Leninakan, and Spitak, where 15 shops and factories are already in operation. By the end of the year output worth more than R500 million will be produced here. To resolve the housing problem for its workers, the Ministry of Light Industry has set up a construction and installation association in Armenia with sufficient capacities and equipment to assimilate more than R60 million of capital investments.

Things are not so good at enterprises of the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry located in Leninakan. The commission pointed out to ministry representatives the danger of the enterprises' collectives disbanding unless decisive steps are taken promptly to accelerate the construction of housing for the workers.

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the commission session.

Voronin Inspects Reconstruction in Leninakan
NC2302103489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited Leninakan on 22 February, where he familiarized himself with the work to reconstruct the industrial enterprises and with the effort to house the homeless in the new residential districts. He visited the 58th residential district and a series of enterprises being reconstructed. At the city headquarters, he acquainted himself with the work concerning the completion, [word indistinct], and changes in registration documents of the reconstructed residential buildings and schools, and with other issues. On the same day, Lev Voronin returned to Yerevan.

Belorussia Assists Armenian Quake Victims
NC2002074590 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] A commission to organize the assistance to Armenia has been formed in Belorussia. The Belorussian people's international mission has been manifested in the more than R45 million deposited in the fund for assisting Armenia, in the (?57) special flights by the civilian aircraft, and in the dispatch of 1,200 train wagons loaded with equipment and (?mobile) [word indistinct]. Great attention is being paid to the Armenian families that have gone to Belorussia. As for the construction work in the disaster areas in Armenia, there are nearly 300 people working in these areas now. Morevoer, more than 1,800 workers have included their names on the list of people who wish to go to the Armenian disaster areas. Belorussia's state agricultural production body is doing construction work in the Artikskiy and Aparanskiy rayons. In 2 years, the Byelorussian construction workers will repair or reconstruct more than 43,000 square meters of houses, dozens of veterinary (?farms), and production establishments.

Armenian Catholic Official Interviewed on Issues
NC1902083689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Interview with Vazgen I, Catholicos of all Armenians, after his return from the United States, by correspondent Voskanyan; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Voskanyan] Your Holiness, our people welcome your return to the supreme seat. Let us hope that your trip to the United States was successful.

[Vazgen I] The violent earthquake in Armenia and its grave consequences also shook the conscience of all the Armenians in the diaspora. From the very first days, we began receiving condolences, cables, telephone calls and unceasing assistance for our suffering people. During the last weeks all the Armenian communities expressed their readiness to contribute their volunatry assistance in the reconstruction of the destroyed cities and villages. Responding to the invitation of the Armenian Church in the United States, we decided to go to New York to give our blessing to that patriotic desire of the American Armenians. In order to achieve that patriotic work with complete unity of all Armenians, we invited Karekin II, Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia, to preside with him over the assistance to the fatherland.

We arrived in New York on 3 February with Catholicos Karekin II. On 6 and 7 February, consultative meetings took place in New York with the participation of the official representatives of all the organizations of the Armenian Church, of the Cathloic and Protestant communities, and of many Armenian cultural, charity and public associations from North and South Americas—Canada, the United States, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina.

During the first and second sessions of the 6 February meeting, we presented the general situation that had developed after the quake and the reconstruction plans for 4 cities and 58 villages, proposing that all assistance be concentrated on the reconstruction of Stepanavan city. Each Armenian organization is to assume its desired share of assistance by undertaking the responsibilities of providing the apparati, their assemblage, machinery, and other necessary articles for a school, a kindergarten, a hospital or sanatorium, a public building or a factory. The relevant organization will assume the purchasing and forwarding of all the equipment and necessary articles, while the Armenian Government will undertake the construction of the buildings.

On the same day, during the second session, Archbishop (Diran Gyureghyan) who accompanied us, addressed the meeting and discussed the expanding role of the mother seat—holy Echmiadzin—in the aid provided to the victims by assuming the distribution of the goods, such as clothing, blankets, food, tents, and other goods totalling 1,200 tonnes, from abroad.

Painter Grikor Khandzhyan, a member of the Holy Synod, who accompanied us, spoke about the state's overall plan on the reconstruction of the cities and villages in cooperation with all the Soviet republics. Then a detailed plan, in line with state projections, for Stepanavan was presented.

The next day, on 7 February, a third session took place, during which the participants promised to equip the buildings of their own choice. The overall cost of this

operation will total almost $20 million. Promises were also made by sister churches and a few American charity organizations to provide similar assistance for the reconstruction.

On the occasion of our visit, church services were held, and a grand mass was conducted on Sunday 5 February at New York's largest Anglican church in the presence of more than 12,000 Armenian believers.

[Voskanyan] Your Holiness, what important meetings did you hold in Washington and in New York?

[Vazgen I] On 9 February we, along with Karekin, Catholicos of Cilicia, and our entourage, visited Washington and the newly-elected U.S. President George Bush, who received us in the White House with warm greetings. The conversation lasted half an hour, during which a friendly conversation was held on the disaster in Armenian and its consequences. The esteemed President also mentioned the life of the Armenian church in Armenia. On the same day, we were invited to the U.S. Congress where we opened the daily session with our prayers. Later, we visited the Soviet Embassy where the Soviet ambassador, esteemed Dubinin and his wife warmly received us and invited us to lunch. In the evening, we returned to New York and attended a reception by Arthur Schneider [title indistinct] of New York which was also attened by many government officials and ambassadors and embassy representatives. Many prominent people, including Catholicos Karekin and members of our group, made speeches.

On 8 February, New York Mayor Edward Koch received us. Later in the evening. the local Armenian community in Washington hosted a large dinner they had organized, which was attended by representatives of sister churches and government figures.

After the official contacts in Washington, we went to the military airport where a huge U.S. military plane had just arrived from Yerevan bringing 35 gravely injured Armenian children accompanied by their mothers or relatives to the United States. Along with Catholicos Karekin we entered the plane and approached the children, spoke encouraging and consoling words to them, and prayed when we saw their grave condition. All the children either had no hands or feet, or could not speak. After we left the plane, the wife of President Bush and the esteemed Soviet Ambassador Dubinin entered to give words of encouragement to the children. Then the children were put on helicopters to be taken to the necessary hospitals.

At the New York St Vartan Cathedral an evening of ecumenical prayer was held with the representatives of sister churches where along with Catholicos Karekin and Jesse Jackson, we made speeches.

On the last day—9 February—we also visited the New York St Grikor Lusavorich Church which is under the aegis of the Cilician Catholicos. There we gave our patriarchal blessings and greetings from mother Armenia.

We returned to Armenian with consoled hearts because we tried to fulfill our responsibility, bringing to our gieved Armenian people the sympathy and goodwill of their diaspora sisters and brothers, and their readiness to extend an assisting hand in the great work of reconstruction.

Today the diaspora Armenians have only one concern and desire: The reconstruction of cities and villages should be organized and realized under conditions opf peace and national unity in Armenian so that a more illustrious future for mother Armenia, for the motherland of all the Armenians, will be guaranteed.

[Voskanyan] Thanking you for this comprehensive information and your activities, we want to wish Your Holiness to extend your blessings and good wishes to our people.

[Vasgen I] Seizing this opportunity, we compassionately extend our fatherly blessings and good wishes to the Armenians abroad and in Armenia alike, and ask God's blessings for Echmiadzin, the mother seat of all Armenians. We pray and wish that the spirit of unity that evolved as a result of this disaster will remain permanently, both ink our church and in national life. That spirit of unity was already manifest in the close friendly cooperation with the Supreme Catholicos of the great house of Cilicia, Karekin II whom, as you heard a while ago, we were with in America. We will continue that unity henceforth, and I am sure that with our efforts and future cooperation, we will achieve more illustrious, church-building and patriotic work both in mother Armenia and all over the diaspora. I wish you health, strength from the holy spirit and [words indistinct]. Amen. [end recording]

Further on 18 Feb Train Derailing in Armenia

NC2302095589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 20 Feb 89

[For a related report see the 21 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 90]

[Text] On 18 February at 1900 in the Nalband village of Kaltakhchi, a freight train carrying a load of 1,928 tonnes derailed. The electrical locomotive and the attached railcar, conducted by Leninakan depot machine operator Konstantin Nadoyan, remained on the rails. The 32 railcars carrying freight fell off the track while moving at an average 48 km/hour.

The accident took place on a road with a 208-310 degree inclination. There are no victims.

According to the preliminary assessments of the specialists, the train might have been derailed during the earth tremors which took place on the very same day. This is also evinced by the fact that the cars collapsed on both sides of the track, and not to one side in accordance with the laws of centrifugal force.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has set up a commission to investigate the causes of the accident. The commission is headed by Yuriy Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the Republic's Council of Ministers.

Armenians From Azerbaijan Settling in Kafanskiy
NC2302084089 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Kafan, 22 Feb, ARMENPRES—The number of families that have settled in the rayon has increased by 1,088. They have come here from different parts of Azerbaijan. A special commission that has been set up is working to resolve, in a timely way, the problems faced by these families, including job placements and the registration of children in schools and kindergartens. Thus far 258 families have settled in Kadzharan and in its towns of David-Bek and Zeyva.

In addition, 85 families have established new homes in Gomqran, [placename as received] Galadzh [placename as received] Sznak, Sevakar, Dovrus [placename as received] Karachiman, and other villages. A substantial number of new inhabitants in the rayon are already employed in the industrial enterprises of Kafan and Kadzharan. The number of those working in the agricultural sector is considerable.

The native population and local authorities have helped the newcomers in obtaining beds, mattresses, household goods, and clothing. Many citizens have given shelter to the refugee families, whose settlement problem will soon be resolved.

Charges Against 'Karabakh Committee' Investigated
NC2302073189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Statement by the Armenian Republic's procurator; date not given]

[Text] The USSR Procurator General's inspection team is investigating the criminal charges levelled against the following leaders and [word indistinct] of the so-called Karabakh Committee: Araksiyan, Galustyan, Gevorgyan, Agopyan, (Vaderyan), Manusharyan, (Ghazaryan), Manukyan, Jamgochyan, (Buradeghyan), Vartanyan and Petdrosyan.

The named individuals organized illegal meetings and demonstrations in Yerevan in 1988 concerning the (?autonomous area). Through public calls and [word indistinct] lured the participants in the meetings and demonstrations into group actions; they took advantage of the public disorder (?which led) to the disintegration of the activities of the state enterprises and firms. Therefore, all were arrested [word indistinct]. A statement will be issued on the results of the preliminary judicial investigation into the criminal charges.

Azerbaijan Effort To Improve Political Processes
NC2202194889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] In its meeting on 15 February, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau examined the results of the accounting and election meetings held by the republic's organizations in 1988. The bureau adopted a decision establishing concrete measures to have the deficiencies observed in the process of accounting and elections removed, and the recommendations drawn up by the 19th all-union party conference for deepening reconstruction, realizing reforms in the political system, and further democratizing the [word indistinct] plan of the society fulfilled.

While discussing preparations for electing USSR deputies in Azerbaijan SSR, the bureau pointed to the deficiencies and shortcomings in organizational and mass political work. In connection with the preparations made for electing the USSR deputies, the bureau discussed the organizational and political work of the Kasum Ismailovskiy Raykom.

The bureau adopted a decision on additional measures for increasing agricultural production in the subsidiary establishments owned by the people.

Other matters concerning the republic's social and political domains were also discussed.

'Backwardness' in Farming in Azerbaijan Discussed
NC2202085789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Excerpt] The results of the work carried out by the republic's agro-industrial complex in 1988 and the tasks that have been established for 1989 were recently discussed at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. The decision adopted noted that serious backwardness in cultivation had been allowed in many of the fields in 1988, and the plans drawn up for procuring fruits, watermelons, and other garden products had not been fulfilled. About half of the cotton-farming rayons failed to realize their plans.

What is the situation in the rayons in which backwardness has been allowed? What are the preparations for the next cultivation campaign? We have put these questions to the leading officials of the [word indistinct] rayon agro-industrial unions. The answers we received from the Pushkino Rayon Agro-Industrial Union indicate that wide-ranging preparations are being made for the work in the fields this summer. Measures are being put into effect to increase the fertility of the lands, and (?dirt) in

the fields of many establishments has been removed. The cotton farmers have been particularly active in this work. The farmers of this rayon disrupted the production plan last year and consequently owed a significant amount to the state. The reasons for this were discussed by each and every establishment and by the council of the rayon's agro-industrial union, and relevant measures were established for removing the deficiencies that had been allowed to exist. [passage omitted]

Ukrainian Native Language Society Founded in Kiev
AU1602184589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 12 Feb 89 p 1

[RATAU report: "A Constituting Conference"]

[Text] The Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society is called upon to shape the feeling of love for the Ukrainian word, and through it the entire culture of the people. Its founders are the Ukrainian Writers Union, the A.A. Potebnya Philological Institute, and the T.G. Shevchenko Literary Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. The constituting conference of this voluntary public organization opened in Kiev on 11 February.

Member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences A.T. Gonchar opened the conference and delivered an inaugural speech.

M.A. Orlik, Ukrainian Council of Ministers deputy chairman, welcomed the participants in the meeting.

A report was delivered by member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences V.M. Rusanovskiy.

Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, participated in the conference proceedings.

The conference continued its proceedings on 12 February.

Ukrainian Party Ideological Commission Meets
AU2202162989 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "A Session of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Commission"]

[Text] The Ideological Commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has held its first session. Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, as chairman of the commission, spoke on the character and main lines of the Ideological Commission's activity. The commission discussed the 1989 plan for its activity as well as issues concerning preparations for the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on improving interethnic relations.

It was emphasized that the formation and activity of the commission marked an important step in implementing the directives of the 19th all-union party conference, a step attesting to the rebirth in the party of the Leninist principle of collectivism in discussions and decision-making. The activity of the commission provides conditions for enlisting the active services of members and candidate members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Auditing Commission in the most important sectors of the Central Committee's activity.

The commission will widely enlist the services of party aktivists, scientists, specialists, and public figures in drafting documents which have to be submitted to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee or a Central Committee plenum for examination. The commission will form from the documents working groups, and this will make it possible to take into account the drafts' fuller account of public opinion and of the interests of various groups of the working people.

The commission also listened to a report delivered by L.M. Kravchuk, chief of the Ideological Department in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, on the main lines of the department's activity.

The commission's session was attended by obkom secretaries in charge of ideological work.

Ukraine's Metropolitan Addresses Journalists
AU2002210289 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Feb 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "A Press Conference"]

[Text] The results of the fifth World Assembly of the "Religion and Peace" Conference, that has ended in Melbourne, were discussed at a news conference held in the office of the Exarchate of the Ukraine on 10 February. The journalists were addressed by Filaret, metropolitan of Kiev and Galich and exarch of the Ukraine, who headed the delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church to that forum. Attended by religious figures from 60 countries, the meeting in Melbourne was held in an atmosphere of hope, he pointed out. This hope is the result of the new political thinking and of the improved relations between the East and the West, primarily between the USSR and the United States of America—of improved relations that marked the beginning of the concrete nuclear disarmament.

The new realities also determined the progress achieved at the meeting, whose theme was "Creating Peace: the Role of Religion." In my opinion, Metropolitan Filaret said, the spirit of mutual confidence, and the feeling of responsibility for the future of mankind and of life itself on Earth, were predominant at the assembly.

The exarch found that the discussion on disarmament was the most effective. Representatives of various religions expressed the firm conviction that the world should disarm. They unanimously declared that they would do their utmost so that by the year 2000 there would be no mortal weapons. The participants in the meeting also supported the finalization of an agreement on reducing strategic weapons by 50 percent, and peace in space. They condemned the production, application, and stockpiling of biological and chemical weapons, and adopted a special resolution entitled "The South Pacific—a Zone of Peace."

The important role of UN and non-government organizations was noted in strengthening peace. We consider, Metropolitan Filaret said, that international public organizations should invigorate their part in monitoring the disarmament processes.

In answering questions from journalists, the exarch of the Ukraine, who was elected as one of the 10 presidents of the "Religion and Peace" World Conference, said that in addition to the delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church, representatives of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists, Buddists, and Moslems from the Soviet Union were also participating in the conference proceedings. To consolidate peace, he said, it is highly important to educate man in the spirit of peace, and this was particularly emphasized at the assembly in Melbourne. Metropolitan Filaret also expressed the opinion that representatives of various religions should be more tolerant of each other, and that for the cause of peace such mutual understanding would only be beneficial.

***Benefits for Chernobyl Clean-Up Crew Summarized**
WA18220042 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 7, 18-24 Feb 89 p 8

[Article by O. Izvekova; no title]

[Text] Our editors are receiving a lot of complaints from people who have participated in cleaning up after the accident at the Chernobyl AES to the effect that in the field, government decrees on privileges granted to them are concealed.

At the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, which the editorial office approached for explanations, chief specialist V. Skulkov informed us that, after the accident at the Chernobyl AES, about 10 resolutions were passed by the CPSU CC, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Most of them were not published because preferences in remuneration and social issues were referred to in just one or two points in these documents. Excerpts from restricted resolutions of the government are not published. This is why fantasies and bewilderment have arisen around the Chernobyl privileges.

Due to this, the USSR Council of Ministers has adopted explanatory notes which are now available to all executive committees of local soviets and rayon social welfare divisions. They cover remuneration, privileges in calculating tenure and retirement benefits.

No privileges have been introduced in housing, assignment of hotel beds or others.

At the permanent place of employment, reservists called up to the training camps by local draft boards retain their average pay for the entire time spent in the camps, including that spent in travel to the military unit and back. It is calculated by multiplying the average daily wage by the number of working days for which payment is due, according to the operating schedule of the enterprise or organization.

On the basis of a certificate issued by a military unit, reservists who were called up to the camps and were directly involved in work on cleaning up after the accident at the Chernobyl AES and in the evacuated zone receive, on top of the retained average remuneration at the principal place of employment, their rate of pay (salary) multiplied by factors of 1, 2, 3 and 4 prior to 1 January 1988, and by factors of 1 and 2 after 1 January 1988 for all calendar days (including days off and holidays) entered in the certificate issued by the military unit. The daily rate of pay (salary) on which such payments are based is determined by dividing the monthly rate of pay (salary) by the number of days in the accounting month.

Persons called up to training camps and assigned to the above work are given extra leave at the rate of 2 days for 1 month of work. The time of work in the zone of the AES before 1 January 1988 applies toward tenure, and toward the tenure qualifying for preferential retirement, according to list No 1, at 3 times its actual duration, and beginning 1 January 1988, at 1.5 times.

In line with the resolution of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions No 488/26-138 of 13 November 1986, the average salary for leave payments to persons who have worked in the zone of the Chernobyl AES is calculated according to generally applicable rules, including increased salary for the time of work in the above zone.

Additional payments (increased rates of pay and salaries, allowances, bonuses, etc.) established for persons taking part in cleaning up after the accident at the Chernobyl AES are not taken into account in the total income of the family when child allowances are granted to low-income families, and when payments by parents are calculated for maintaining children in day-care facilities and boarding schools (resolution No 238/11-8 of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the Secretariat of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions dated 15 April 1987).

The income tax, alimony, and tax on male and female singles and on childless families is levied, in keeping with the law in effect, on the entire pay due the employee, including also the increased salary for the time of work on cleaning up after the accident.

Taxes are not withheld from the one-time payment made to an employee in the case of receiving the maximum admissible dose of radiation on the basis of a special entry in the military ID or the certificate issued by the military unit.

Certificates are a special case. In the first months after the accident, the so-called "certificates of the right to privileges" were issued in the 30-kilometer zone around the Chernobyl AES. The list of these preferences was arbitrary. As they explained at the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, these certificates are not valid.

*** RSFSR Enacts Measures on Slow Economic Growth**
WA18200207 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Feb 89 p 2

[Unattributed article: "In the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The latest session of the Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers reviewed current and long-range issues of economic development of the Russian Federation.

The results of economic operations in January 1989 were discussed. It was noted that the national income produced grew by 6 percent compared to the same period of last year. In industry, compliance with contracts for the delivery of products improved. The plan of retail sales and sales of paid services to the populace was fulfilled.

At the same time, the rates of growth achieved at the end of last year for many items could not be maintained. A majority of the ministries and departments of the RSFSR did not arrange for the timely signing of contracts for merchandise deliveries to consumers in the entire year and in the first quarter. The volumes of product output established for January were artificially diminished. Enterprises supervised by the ministries of the RSFSR did not meet their quotas for delivering garments, knitted garments and hosiery, leather, rubber and felt footwear. With demand for many foodstuffs not met, orders by trade establishments for confectioneries, canned fruit and vegetables, and baby foods are filled poorly. The rate of fulfillment of the annual plan for building residential housing, and educational and health care facilities in January was extremely low.

Having analyzed the emergent situation, the Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers obligated the heads of ministries and departments of the RSFSR and the local organs of power to take steps in order to eliminate the existing shortcomings as soon as possible and to unconditionally fulfill the plans for February and the first quarter. Within a week, proposals should be submitted for the expansion and maximum utilization of available capacity for producing consumer goods, as well as switching enterprises in operation or under construction in the territory of the RSFSR to the production of such goods.

The meeting reviewed the issue of implementing the general outline of managing the economy of the RSFSR. It was developed pursuant to the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress on the basis of proposals by the party and economic organs of autonomous republics, krays and oblasts, ministries and departments of the RSFSR and approved by a resolution of the CPSU CC and the USSR Council of Ministers dated 8 July 1988. One of the main tasks is to reduce the managerial apparatus and eliminate unnecessary elements, which is a necessary condition for economic restructuring.

The execution of the measures envisaged made it possible to switch to a two-level system of management in branches of the production sphere, and for the most part to a three-level system in the social sphere. The number of ministries and departments was reduced, 84 republic associations were abolished. The number of employees in the apparatus of ministries and departments of the RSFSR and republic associations declined from 32,100 to 18,800 persons. The simplification of the organizational structure of management in the autonomous republics, at the kray and oblast levels made it possible to reduce the number of personnel in the apparatus by 53,600 persons, or 27.4 percent.

At the same time, the efficiency of the steps taken turns out to be insufficient in many cases. In most regions, the assignments of the general outline have not been carried out; in some places the apparatus is even growing. The ministries brought about an increase in the apparatus by creating in the field territorial production associations instead of directorates. For example, the directorate of locally managed industries in Altay Kray used to number 46 persons, the khozraschet association came to have 56, whereas the number of enterprises reporting to it declined from 725 to 590. The situation is the same in Mariyskaya ASSR and Kursk Oblast. Attempts have been registered to "hide" the employees reduced in various intermediate levels of management, to "incorporate" them into economically sound enterprises and organizations, which causes natural protests on the part of khozraschet collectives.

As was noted at the meeting, the purely arithmetical approach to the issue by many heads of ministries and departments and local organs of power is the reason for the slow implementation of the general outline. Such a reduction produces nothing as a result because the apparatus swells again later anyway. The main objective is to change the functional responsibilities of the managerial organs, to bring about the division of state and economic functions. In the process, we should rely on the

economic method rather than on political appeals. It was stressed that the work initiated is not a campaign but a permanent principled course. In conjunction with this, the Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers gave instructions to continue the operations of the Commission on Improving Management, Planning and the Economic Mechanism and to analyze in more depth the work of territorial production associations and main planning and economics directorates in krays and oblasts.

The issue of operations by the All-Russian Rosvneshtorg Association was discussed. Various opinions and assessments were voiced in the discussion. The association was created slightly over a year ago, and a lot has been accomplished over this time. Total exports of the Russian Federation grew by 14 percent; direct contacts between foreign partners and enterprises and regions are expanding rapidly. At the same time, the right now granted to the republics to carry out foreign economic operations on their own has created a completely new situation. It has become necessary to organize such operations with deliberation. Thus far, Rosvneshtorg does not have complete information on the export potential of autonomous republics, krays and oblasts; there are no long-term plans for developing export-generating capacity. At present, raw materials account for up to 90 percent of products exported to foreign markets. Little attention is paid to implementing progressive forms of cooperation with foreign countries, organization of contractual production and establishment of joint enterprises. Advertising and information activities, marketing services and study of commodity markets are the weak points of operations by the association. Numerous cases were brought up at the meeting which indicate that foreign economic operations are frequently carried out spontaneously, without due supervision and coordination. As a result, Soviet products are often sold in foreign markets at below world prices, and opportunities for securing higher hard-currency revenues and expanding greatly the hard-currency fund of the Russian Federation are not taken advantage of.

Is Rosvneshtorg capable of assuming new responsibilities? Will its role continue to be restricted to commercial brokerage, cross-border trade and barter operations, or will the association coordinate all foreign economic operations in the territory of the RSFSR? This is the issue which should now be analyzed carefully and resolved. A concept of developing foreign economic contacts of the Russian Federation will have to be prepared, and the role of ministries, departments, autonomous republics, krays and oblasts within its framework will have to be determined. The Presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers has given relevant assignments to the foreign economic commission of the Council of Ministers, RSFSR Gosplan and Rosvneshtorg.

Other issues were also considered at the meeting.

Tatar Constituent Congress Opens 17 Feb

LD1802231389 Moscow TASS in English 2036 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Kazan February 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Bespalov:

The Tatar social centre's constituent congress opened in Kazan, the capital of the Tatar Soviet Autonomous Republic, on Friday. The new public organisation will be the kernel of the informal movement which originated amid the intelligentsia of Tataria, part of the Russian Federation.

The centre issued its program on the eve of the congress. The program says that the centre's activities will be aimed at overcoming the existing differences in conditions of socio-economic development of the union and autonomous republics.

In the USSR there are now about 6 million Tatars. 25 per cent of them reside in Tataria, accounting for about half of its population.

Tataria, formerly a backward agrarian area, became an industrial republic in the years of Soviet Government. The republic is an oil producer. It has well-developed chemical, petrochemical, power engineering and light industries. Profound positive changes took place also in all spheres of social life.

In Kazan there are 13 higher educational establishments, including one of the country's oldest universities, where V.I. Lenin was a student. In Kazan there is a branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, scores of scientific research institutions, scientific-production associations. Children at the republican schools can be tought in any language they choose—Russian, Tatar, Chuvash and Mari. Scores of new schools and classes, with tuition in national languages, open every year.

Three newspapers and five journals are issued in the Tatar language in the republic. A new journal for the youth, "Idel" ("Volga"), has recently been founded. It will be issued in the Tatar and Russian languages. The union of writers of Tataria and the Tatar book publishers are among the largest in the Russian Federation. tatar radio and televison broadcast programs in Russian and Tatar. The Tatar academic Galiaskar Kamal academic theatre is one of the best national theatres of the country.

The constituent congress is to end on Sunday.

Nikonov Addresses Komsomol Meeting 17 Feb

LD1802111989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today at the Komsomol Central Committee, a meeting was held with representatives of young people from rural areas. Viktor Petrovich Nikonov took part.

His speech lasted about an hour and a half. All the thorny issues of modern agriculture were discussed. Examples were cited of young people's work in the countryside, which is sometimes hopeful, but more often not very much so. [passage omitted]

[Begin Nikonov recording] How does a person of our age differ from a person of your age, for example. I think that we all have the desire to master the full range of human qualities of decency. And always we—and now you—are striving for that necessary harmony which is required by nature. Strength, will, reason, honesty, and decency—this is what this harmony is. It is easier for you to attain it. I wish you success in everything, boys, in your every initiative. But learn to take all your initiatives to their logical end, so as to produce a result. I wish you success. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Razumovskiy Addresses Party Qualificationa Session
LD2002160489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1344 GMT 20 Feb 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Chairmen of party control commissions attached to the central committees of communist parties of the union republics, kraykoms, and obkoms; chairmen of the control and auditing commissions of kray and oblast party organizations; and heads of party commissions attached to the political organs of the USSR Armed Forces have embarked upon their studies at the CPSU Central Committee's Institute for Raising the Qualifications of Leading Party, Soviet, and Ideological Personnel.

Comrade Razumovskiy addressed those assembled.

Justice Minister on Curbs on Cooperatives
PM1502101389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 89 Morning Edition p6

[Article by USSR Justice Minister B. Kravtsov: "Justice Ministry Explains"; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Almost 1 and ½ months have passed since the publication of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On the Regulation of Certain Forms of Cooperative Activity in Accordance With the USSR Law 'On Cooperatives in the USSR,'" but feelings are still running high. One would have thought that every aspect and every possible consequence had been discussed, but the editorial office has suddenly begun to receive letters asking a surprising question: Is the resolution lawful from a legal point of view? Or, to put it more simply, just how lawful is it?

Letters asking questions like these have been received from S. Ryabikov in Baku, Yu. Peredereyev in Khabarovsk, D. Popov in Karaganda Oblast, and several other readers who, according to them, have absolutely nothing to do with those forms of cooperative activity prohibited or restricted by this resolution. But, they ask, does the USSR Council of Ministers—a body of executive and administrative power—have the right to make such substantial amendments to a law passed by the supreme body of legislative power, the USSR Supreme Soviet?

It is best to leave the legal aspect of the problem to the legal experts themselves. That is why the editorial office asked USSR Justice Minister Boris Vasilyevich Kravtsov to answer these questions.

First of all I should emphasize that the resolution is an integral part of the legislation regulating cooperative activity in our country.

The legal foundation of this normative act is represented by the Law on Cooperatives in the USSR, Article 2 of which states:

"Relations connected with the formation of cooperatives and their activity are regulated by this law and by other legislation of the USSR and the union republics passed in accordance with it."

But why has this been done now? There is no secret. During the nationwide discussion of the draft Law on Cooperatives numerous proposals were received suggesting that the law itself should list forms of activity in which cooperatives are forbidden to engage or are permitted to engage on a contractual basis with the appropriate state associations for which this kind of activity is fundamental.

People recognized the expediency of not showing excessive haste, giving the law time to work, as they say, gathering some experience in applying the law, and only then introducing specific considerations. The draft USSR Council of Ministers resolution was repeatedly discussed by worker commissions with the participation of representatives of various branches of science and specialists in practical fields. It was sent to all the union republics for their conclusions and absorbed observations and proposals from the republic councils of ministers. In addition to the legal experts, representatives of a whole series of ministries and departments, including the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Culture, the Gosagroprom, the State Committee for Public Education, and several others, took part in work on the draft.

It goes without saying that prohibition is not the best form of regulating cooperative activity, but it was felt expedient to employ precisely this form at the present stage in our development. Like any prohibition, it does, of course, narrow the field of activity. But it would be quite wrong to regard these restrictions as a policy designed to curtail the cooperative movement. It is a serious error to present the matter in this way.

It is possible to resolve the issue in this form. Article 3 of the USSR Law "On Cooperatives in the USSR" stipulates that cooperatives have the right to engage in any form of activity, with the exception of those forms prohibited by legislation of the USSR and the union republics.

Some comrades say that the USSR government resolution is unlawful, because it is not covered by the term "legislation." How, in our view, should we interpret this term, as applied in legislative acts?

Let us take, for example, the Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on Health Care. Article 2 of these fundamentals establishes that the legislation of the USSR and union republics on health care consists of these fundamentals and other legislative acts of the USSR and union republics on health care corresponding to them. (Similar entries are to be found in virtually every legislative act, including the Law on Cooperatives). Article 6 of the Fundamentals of Health Care defines the competence of the USSR in the field of health care, which, it states, is exercised by the highest bodies of state authority and administration. The USSR Council of Ministers is classified as such by the USSR Constitution (Article 126). What is more, according to Article 131 of the USSR Constitution, the USSR Council of Ministers is empowered to decide all issues of state administration within the jurisdiction of the USSR, because, according to the USSR Constitution, they do not fall within the competence of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, or the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In accordance with the USSR Constitution, the highest bodies of state authority and administration may consequently issue laws, resolutions, and instructions.

Proceeding even just from the above, it is therefore obvious that the legislator envisages decisions which have also been made by the USSR Council of Ministers when he uses the term "legislation."

This fact is recognized by science and has been used for more than 20 years in work to systematize legislation. (Take the Consolidated Current Legislation, the Code of USSR Laws, and so forth, as examples).

The above USSR Council of Ministers resolution also lists forms of activity in which cooperatives have a right to engage solely on the basis of contracts concluded with enterprises, organizations, and institutions for which these forms of activity are fundamental. In this way the Soviet Government has defined a special condition, only by observing which cooperatives have the right to engage in the forms of activity listed in Appendix 2 of the above resolution.

It is clear from the contents of this clause that the main thrust of such contracts is to establish a procedure for carrying out this activity rather than to regulate property relations. It also slightly restricts cooperative rights in the conducting of certain types of activity, as cooperatives do not have the right to act just as they think fit.

Some comrades have expressed their ideas on the lawfulness of determining this procedure in their letters and in press articles.

The possibility of establishing such a procedure stems from Article 54 of the USSR Law "On Cooperatives in the USSR," in accordance with which the USSR Council of Ministers has the right to determine the features of the law's application. Working on the basis of this article, the USSR Council of Ministers has established a distinctive procedure distinguishable from the general procedure, observance of which is essential for engaging in the forms of activity listed in Appendix 2 of the 29 December 1988 USSR Council of Ministers resolution.

This resolution requires the USSR Ministry of Justice, together with interested ministries and departments, to prepare proposals on the procedure for and forms of monitoring cooperative activity by enterprises, organizations, and institutions on the basis of contracts by which the cooperatives may carry out this activity, and also on the responsibility of enterprises, organizations, and institutions for any violation of the established procedure for conducting certain types of cooperative activity.

Work on the preparation of these proposals is under way. It appears that monitoring procedures should be applied to those forms of cooperative activity which, under existing legislation, must be carried out only in line with contracts concluded with enterprises, institutions, and organizations for which this activity is fundamental. In this respect, monitoring of cooperatives' financial activity and also of their compliance with existing legislation governing occupational safety, safety regulations, and other matters must be conducted by state bodies together with soviets of people's deputies within the limits of their competence.

Questions of planning, price formation, and a number of other issues placed within the jurisdiction of the cooperatives themselves by the USSR Law "On Cooperatives in the USSR" must be decided by the cooperatives in accordance with existing legislation.

Preparations for Cooperative Congress Discussed

PM1502115989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 89 First Edition p 2

[A. Golovenko report: "Before Cooperative Workers' Congress"]

[Text] Moscow recently hosted the final session of the organizational committee to prepare for the All-Union Cooperative Workers' Congress, where it is planned to

establish the USSR Cooperatives' Union in the sphere of the production of goods and services. What will it be like? Emissaries from all the union republics and the largest all-union unions and associations argued a great deal about this. In the opinion of the gathering, this social organ should primarily engage in defending cooperative worker's interests, elaborating a unified technical policy, coordination and propaganda, cadre training, and so on.

In the course of the debate the participants defined the operational principles and the union's tasks, which will be expounded in the final version of the draft statute. Representatives of several major associations, including the leader of the Cooperatives' Union, which was set up before and represents the interests of cooperative workers from a number of the country's cities, were elected to the organizational committee.

It was decided to hold the constituent conference in March and the unifying congress in the first 6 months.

Contents of KOMMUNIST Issue No 3 Summarized

PM1602111089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Latest Issue of Journal"]

[Text] The third issue of KOMMUNIST, the CPSU Central Committee journal, has been published. It opens with the rubric "Restructuring: Theory and Experience." It contains various items.

In the article "Reform of the Political System and Social Science," V. Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, reflects on the need for comprehensive research into the interconnected processes of social life and on the extent of science's influence on political practice.

Political reform will only be optimal and effective if it is conducted on the basis of objective scientific data. At the same time, it is political reform and primarily the democratization of every aspect of social life that creates the conditions and incentives for overcoming stagnation in theoretical thinking and engenders the need to further develop the social sciences.

Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, talks about the very important processes of restructuring army life in the interview "The Army: Discussion of the Vital Issues."

Two articles are devoted to the questions of restructuring the economy: "Expenditure and Prices in Agriculture. Why Are They Increasing?" by I. Lukinov and "It Is Still Not Too Late" by B. Bogachev, which discuss the significance of monetary and financial improvement in the system of anticrisis measures.

There is also an article by A. Kushakov, I. Romanov, and A. Samokhvalov, "Computers, Information, and Management."

The rubric "Social Welfare" is represented by an article entitled "Painful Subject" by B. Protchenko and A. Rudyakov. The authors contend the need to improve legislation and instructions from the USSR Health Ministry in respect of people suffering from mental breakdown.

A large selection of readers' letters is published under the rubric "Public Opinion."

An article by G. Shakhnazarov entitled "East-West. On the Question of Deideologizing Interstate Relations" is published in the section "Debates and Discussions."

An article by V. Zotov, "The National Issue: Deformations of the Past," is published in preparation for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving interethnic relations.

V. Zakharov, USSR Minister of culture, contributes an article entitled "Sphere of Culture: Problems of Development," which is published under the rubric "Society's Spiritual Life."

'Pluralism' Film on CPSU Conference Screened

LD1702090789 Moscow TASS in English 1952 GMT
16 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—A documentary about the 19th all-union party conference, held in June-July of 1988, was shown to Soviet and foreign journalists at the Soviet Film-Makers' Union for the first time on Thursday.

The film entitled "Pluralism" was made by Moscow film-director Aleksandr Pavlov last November but had not been screened anywhere until today. Explaining this paradox, Secretary of the Film-Makers' Union Igor Gelein said that the film's distribution had been delayed by officials at the USSR State Committee for Cinematography who, apparently, did not like that the documentary showed objectively the atmosphere of a sharp party debate during the conference.

The documentary commemorated the speeches of the delegates expressing different points of view on ways of restructuring and the role of the party and the soviets of people's deputies in the renovation and democratisation of Soviet society. Some of these opinions were absolutely the opposite, which proves that "the deceleration mechanism" has not yet been broken completely and that advocates of political and economic reforms would have to exert a great deal of effort to carry them through. This opinion was echoed in interviews given by the delegates in-between the sessions.

The documentary includes some historical parts telling about different stages of Soviet history after the 18th party conference held in February of 1941. The ostentatious optimism and ceremonial atmosphere of that conference contradicted the real situation in the years of Stalin's rule.

The film's authors stress the need to restore socialist principles in their Leninist understanding and replace the administrative-command methods of running the affairs of the state by genuine democracy. They also note that the process of restructuring of Soviet society is complicated and versatile.

Representatives of the Soviet Film-Makers' Union believe that the documentary's release will be particularly important now during the elections for USSR people's deputies, which are being held on the basis of the principles worked out at the 19th all-union party conference.

New Soviet-Polish Firm Publishes Bukharin Works

LD2002112689 Moscow TASS in Engish 1019 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—Nikolay Bukharin's books "Political Economy of a Young Rentier" and "Notes of Empress Catherine the Second" are the first products of the joint Polish-Soviet Orbit Publishing House. Its vice-president Vladimir Kiryanov speaks of the publishing house's plans in PRAVDA on Monday [20 February].

"This venture was established by the Soviet Sovexportkniga and Prasa-Ksenza-Ruch publishing cooperative from Warsaw. The main task is to supply foreign firms and joint ventures with publishing and polygraphic services for hard currency. Besides we'll issue the most popular editions on Polish and Soviet markets. In the Soviet Union Orbit will publish a series of detective, adventure and science fiction books. The first authors will be Khrutsky and Polish writers Klodzinskaya, Zaidel and others. In Poland we'll publish a collection of articles "What If According to Conscience" and works by Roy Medvedev and Valentin Pikul."

"We'll publish books not only in Russian and Polish but also in other languages according to the orders", said Kiryanov.

Economic

Senchagov Offers Solutions to Budget Deficit

LD2102170189 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Kiosa:

The elaboration of a programme for the financial stabilisation of the economy is being completed in the Soviet Union. Its main provisions have already been determined. Only some details remain to be specified, Vyacheslav Senchagov, deputy Soviet finance minister, told TASS.

"The financial situation in the country is complex and contradictory," Senchagov said. "Tangible positive changes that have taken place included a considerable growth of profits in the national economy. Last year the profit growth rate was almost twice as high as the planned targets. At the same time negative tendencies have also been observed: Unsubstantiated price increases and the phasing of cheap goods out of circulation. But the unbalanced nature of state revenue and expenditure still remains the principal financial problem."

The USSR state budget for this year is known to have forecast a 35-billion rouble deficit. Another 63.4 billion roubles was drawn by the budget from the funds of the USSR State Bank. This disbalance, amounting to almost 100 billion roubles, broadens the gap between demand and supply in the market and enhances inflationary processes. What is the solution to the problem?

"One option is sharply to boost the output of consumer goods," the deputy minister maintains. "According to existing data, the unsatisfied demand for goods and services runs at more than 70 billion roubles. However, one should take it into account that the expansion of any production plant takes time. Therefore, the state of affairs in the financial sphere can be quickly changed only in one way: By slashing state expenditure."

This implies first of all a revision of the state capital investment programme or, in other words, putting an end to the construction boom at the expense of the state. Here is one example: More than 300,000 production projects are now being built in the country simultaneously. So, a dissipation of non-repayable funds is underway. This is why many suggest freezing wasteful construction projects, Senchagov said.

There is yet another recipe: To eliminate unprofitable enterprises, subsidies to which now total more than 11 billion roubles a year. Although subsidies are gradually diminishing, more tough measures will be needed. Bankrupt plants will have to change their specialisation or join economically 'sound' amalgamations. The transformation of such enterprises into cooperatives or their lease to enterprising teams is also possible. The conversion of the defence industry to civilian uses may also play a considerable role in cutting down defence expenditures.

It would be naive to believe that all financial problems will be resolved within the space of 2-3 years, Senchagov said. Only urgent tasks can be solved within such a period. A large amount of work lies ahead to develop

lease contract relationships, to stimulate the taxation policy of the state and to create a securities market to promote the transfusion of funds into the most efficient sectors and production units.

Newspaper Cites 1988 Foreign Trade Problems

LD2202122389 Moscow TASS in English 1206 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—Last year did not see any considerable rise in Soviet foreign trade, estimated at 132 billion roubles, The Soviet newspaper "GOVERNMENT HERALD" wrote on Wednesday. It noted that a drop of prices for basic types of fuel and raw materials as well as growing protectionist trends in Western countries had made the situation on international markets unfavourable for the USSR in recent years. As a result, the volume of Soviet foreign trade fell from 142 billion roubles in 1985 to 129 billion roubles in 1987.

Another contributing factor is that a very small amount of Soviet export are immune to fluctuations in the state of international markets. These items include, above all, machines and equipment whose share in Soviet exports shrank to 11.7 per cent in 1988 from 13.9 per cent in 1985. Machines and other technology make up only three per cent of Soviet deliveries to developed capitalist countries.

Meanwhile, the GOVERNMENT HERALD went on to say, Soviet industry continues producing planes, vehicles, tractors and agricultural machines whose specifications differ very little from previous models and which are inferior to Western types.

In 1988 the Soviet Union failed to fulfill the tasks in exporting major raw materials. Contracts for 1989 do not so far bring Soviet exports to the planned level.

The GOVERNMENT HERALD described Soviet economic relations with socialist countries as unsatisfactory. New forms of cooperation have not yet produced any returns and direct ties between socialist countries have turned into a means to exchange deficit items.

The newspaper noted that the setting up of joint ventures is one of the most promising forms of enterprise with foreign partners. However, the organisation of such ventures, many of which are already working, has revealed many difficulties and serious drawbacks. For instance, business circles in foreign countries tried to set up ventures which would not require any substantial investments. The charter capital of 81 joint ventures (42 per cent) out of the total number of 192 ranges from 20,000 to one million roubles.

Another difficulty is the unequal division of joint ventures between different branches of industry. Fifty three per cent (101) of such enterprises engage in engineering, consultations, programming and other services, while only 24 per cent (47) were set up in the machine-building, chemical-timber and other industries.

Touching upon ways of improving Soviet foreign trade, the GOVERNMENT HERALD stressed the need for the fundamental democratisation of foreign economic ties and introduction of new methods of economic management.

Regional Economic Autonomy Model Challenged

PM2102151089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Candidate of Economic Sciences S. Vaskov article under the rubric "Economic Reform—the Basis of Restructuring": "From Departmental Diktat to Territorial Diktat? The Form Regional Economic Accountability Should Take"]

[Text] Preparations for the switch to territorial economic accountability and the discussion of the various models are drawing attention to a number of problems of regional development.

An example of one such problem that is becoming increasingly complex and accumulating a destructive charge is the exacerbation of the socioeconomic distance between republics. The maximum differences in "per capita" indicators are: a factor of 7.6 for consumer goods production; a factor of 4.7 for preschool institutions; 2.3 for provision of housing; and 2 for labor productivity. In 1980 there was less of a gulf: In housing it was a factor of two, and in children's institutions it was a factor of four.

In regions whose economic development indicators are at opposite extremes, diametrically opposed social processes can also be seen. Take the Baltic republics and the country's biggest cities. Here, for a long time there have been extremely low indicators for natural reproduction of the population, insufficient to ensure even stability in the numbers of indigenous inhabitants. In these conditions the manpower shortage is intensified and the growth of manpower resources in some places is insufficient even to fill existing jobs, let alone new ones. The growing cadre deficit is made up for by bringing in manpower from other regions of the country, which intensifies social and national tension in these regions.

The demographic situation in the Central Asian republics is entirely different, though with equally serious consequences. Here the natural population growth is 200-250 percent higher than the average indicator for the union. It is in these republics that the main growth in the country's manpower resources (70 percent) occurs. But this growth is not related to the existence or growth of jobs, and this leads to a lowering of the rate of growth of labor productivity. Efforts to attract manpower from the Central Asian region to other regions of the country are not yet producing results. The rapid population growth in those regions is also not related to the limited natural

base for the population's activity. Here water resources and the potential for opening up new land are already virtually exhausted and the load on the natural environment exceeds the potential for its restoration. Despite the high rate of development of the social infrastructure and aid in these matters from the whole country, the provision of housing, schools, children's institutions, and medical institutions in this region, far from growing, is even declining. In other words, the situation that is taking shape in the country is basically one that is described worldwide as the problem of "North-South" relations.

It should be noted that the world community has already accumulated considerable experience in what to do in conditions of excessive or, conversely, insufficient population growth. Comparatively effective measures for the control and management of the demographic situation have been developed and are implemented. Unfortunately, in our country this undoubtedly tricky question has hitherto been bypassed. Regional demographic and economic policy as a means of alleviating regional socioeconomic problems has not been developed, while the existing "apparatus" territorial economic mechanism leads not so much to the resolution of these and other regional problems as to the concealment of their urgency.

The essence of this mechanism lies in the endless transfer of financial and material resources from certain republics to others and unsuccessful attempts to "even out" the republics. Like any leveling mechanism, this one led to no positive changes at all.

The new economic mechanism of territorial management, elements of which will be introduced into practice more and more widely as the opportunity arises, is designed to change this practice. This mechanism should ensure a strict link between the planned measures and expenditures of union republics and local soviets and the incomes of republican budgets, with the income section of their budgets being formed on the basis of scientifically substantiated norms.

Today specialists are increasingly united in the opinion that the hypertrophied, multitiered, excessively fragmented system of sector management that generates departmentalism and bureaucracy is, in its present form, obsolete. Leaders and the public in the localities see a way out of this situation in eradicating the principle of sector management and switching over to territorial management. The conviction that this is the right solution forms the ideological basis of, for instance, the Baltic model of economic accountability. However, both our country's own experience and contemporary economic theory prompt caution in our approach to such a formula.

Let us recall that on switching to the territorial principle (regional economic councils [sovnarkhozy]) the economy did not receive any marked advantages for its development. Theory suggests that the way out of the organizational impasse lies not in a radical switch, every so often, from one management principle to the other, as has hitherto been the case, but in an entirely new direction. That direction is to grant total freedom of production and economic activity to the enterprises and organizations, with corresponding changes in the structure and functions of organs of state management—to switch to economic methods and the market.

The aforementioned models of republican economic accountability diverge from this trend and amount in effect to confining the existing administrative system of economic management within the bounds of a republic. Republican economic accountability in this form should be regarded as a step away from the path of economic reforms.

One of the ideological substantiations for the desire for economic autonomy is the widespread opinion that it is necessary to strengthen territorial economic components. However, objective economic analysis shows that the thesis of the weakness of the economy applies only to the middle and lower levels of the territorial structure—that is, oblasts, cities, and rayons. The role of local soviets in the country's economy is indeed negligible and is not in accordance with the tasks entrusted to them. Thus local soviets control only 8 percent of all state capital investments and 16 percent of the country's budget resources. The role of local organs of power in the economy and in resolving social questions has declined steadily over the last 20 years. And the power of republican organs in the national economy has increased proportionately. Thus in the period from 1967 through 1986 the proportion of finance controlled by republican organs in the USSR state budget increased from 28 to 34 percent. This cannot but lead to an unusually high centralization of economic activity at republican level. As a result republican organs today control some 70 percent of all the union republics' budget resources, leaving only 30 percent for the local management organs. Capital investment indicators present a similar picture. In the small republics of the Baltic region this process went even further. In Estonia, for instance, 77.3 percent of republican finances are concentrated in the republican budget, and in Latvia 77 percent. For comparison: In oblasts of the RSFSR the analogous indicator is only 21 percent. And in general the Councils of Ministers of republics like Estonia control a volume of financial resources five to nine times greater than do the oblispolkoms of oblasts that are their equivalents in terms of population numbers and economic potential in the RSFSR.

To return once again to the aforementioned strictly autarkic ideas in the establishment of republican economic accountability, it must be realized that these ideas did not spring up of their own accord. The trouble is that in territorial management the administrative decree mechanism persists to this day. The activity of republican and local organs is particularly cluttered with plan targets and all kinds of rules, state orders, control figures, quotas, funds, normatives, centralized prices, budget

norms, and centrally allocated appropriations. In these conditions republican and local organs are put in the position of extras, which leads to justifiable dissatisfaction locally and attempts to change the situation somehow.

Some people in the localities are not satisfied with the depth and pace of the economic reform, and this stimulates attempts to find solutions to all economic problems within the framework of a single republic. Central organs act without due consideration in the course of the reform of territorial management. Thus, for instance, the task is set of linking the republics' expenditure on regional production and social infrastructure to each republic's contribution to the total national income.

At first glance this is correct. But in practice the attempt to put it into practice leads only to additional difficulties. The question of the republics' contribution to the common cause, a question that touches on national pride, is raised, although it is in principle insoluble in the near future, since where pricing and the imposition of turnover tax are imperfect it is impossible to obtain a reliable regional indicator of national income. Relying in such a crucial matter on an accounting indicator which in any case permits the possibility of maneuvering leads to serious disagreements between the republics and the USSR.

Clearly the attempts to implement economic reform in a single republic in isolation are largely provoked by the unhurried pace of restructuring and the lack of real progress in the resolution of important regional problems. The claims of individual social groups and the republican bureaucracy also play their part. Analysis shows that the Baltic model of republican accountability is not oriented toward the interests of the labor collectives, since basically it replaces departmental diktat with republican diktat. It appears, therefore, that republican economic accountability in the form currently proposed will bring no practical benefit to the majority of peoples of small republics. It is necessary to continue the quest for more economically and socially justified options.

State Statistics Given on USSR Wages, Poverty

PM2102140989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 89 p1

[Reader's letter answered under headline: "How Many Poor People Are There in Our Country?"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "Dialogue" [regular KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA question-and-answer feature] has told us how many millionaires there are in our country. Could you now tell us how many poor people and people living on the poverty line there are in the Soviet Union? [signed] V. Silin, student

According to the USSR State Committee for Statistics, the average monthly wage of workers and employees is R217 and kolkhoz workers receive R178, while one working person in every seven earns more than R300 per month. At the same time, however, the average monthly wage for almost 3 million people is under R80.

The aggregate income per capita of the population also varies. Although on average this income is equivalent to R152 per person for families of workers and employees and R121 for kolkhoz workers, 14 percent of members of families have less than R75 per month.

We will add that, according to the USSR State Committee for Statistics, the population spends 33.3 percent of its budget on food.

Approximately 1 in 10 people cannot "stretch" their resources from one wage packet to the next and one in four cannot spare anything for a savings bank account.

Baklanov Visits Machine Building Institute

PM2102143789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Visit To USSR Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] The task of ensuring the preferential development of national machine building and raising it to advanced scientific and technical levels can be successfully resolved on the basis of the comprehensive development of fundamental research and the extensive utilization of the results in production. THe USSR Academy of Sciences Machine Sciences Institute is the leading scientific organization carrying out fundamental and applied research in the interests of the country's machine building complex aimed at enhancing the quality, reliability, long life, and security of machines and equipment. Prominent scientists and well-known specialists in various fields of science and technology work there.

O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the institute on 20 February. The institute's director Academician K.V. Frolov talked about the collective's work under conditions of the restructuring developing in the country; the concentration of scientific efforts on the main areas; and new forms of collaboration with research institutes, VUZ's, and industrial enterprises; and briefed him on plans to further develop the institute. While observing an exhibition of scientific and technical developments and laboratories and during conversations with scientists and specialists, O.D. Baklanov pointed out that, even though the institute's collective has secured considerable results in elaborating the scientific foundations of machine science; modern methods of designing and testing machines and equipment in the best possible way; and new principles for creating highly productive machines and technologies; the job of putting them into practice is taking an unconscionably long time. That is why the main efforts of the institute's leadership and party organization should be

geared toward seeking and implementing effective new forms of cooperation with sectoral and VUZ science and industry using economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] methods in order to sharply accelerate initial launch work.

The importance of increasing scientists' contribution to restructuring and of broadening mutually advantageous cooperation with CEMA countries' scientific organizations was stressed. By exploiting the high scientific and technical potential of the institute and our friends, we can more rapidly ensure a high technical level and competitiveness in the equipment being developed. Here the conversation turned, in particular, to the organization of successful work by the joint Soviet-Hungarian enterprise "Inmash Mekhatronika," which has just been set up.

At the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium O.D. Baklanov examined questions linked with opening up the world's oceans and coastal shelves. The CPSU Central Committee secretary focused scientists' attention on the need, when creating fundamentally new types of technology, to attain results that meet the highest world standards. Special attention was drawn to the importance of elaborating ecologically clean technologies. The USSR Academy of Sciences' leadership and party organization must take care to staff subunits with the requisite scientific cadres and equip laboratories with modern scientific equipment in order to resolve these tasks.

I.V. Koksanov, USSR minister of the ship building industry; G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and other party and economic leaders took part in examining the questions.

GES Scheme Halted for Ecological Study

PM2102114389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent T. Chanturiya report under the rubric "At Republics' Governments": "If You Take Ecology Into Consideration"]

[Text] The construction of a major hydroelectric power station in the mountains of Svanetia—the Khudoni GES—has been halted. The reason for this is unsatisfactory investigation into the ecological consequences of the construction work.

The situation is not new. The republic discussed even more ardently the project for a Caucasus railroad crossing with its total lack of ecological study. As a result the implementation of the project has been halted and specialists are working on a new one. Now the Khudoni GES is subject to even greater inertia. It is very difficult to accept that kind of decision now, when virtually 10 years have elapsed since the first pile was driven and the first cubic meter of soil excavated.

For more than 2 months representatives of the republic's public, including the scientific public, have been pointing in the press and from rostrums to the project's imperfections and the failure to investigate how the GES will affect the climate, water, and stability of the Black Sea coast; the soil, flora and fauna; and the hydrogeology of mountain and coastal regions.... Last October the republic's government set up a commission of experts comprising nine working groups. In November construction workers stopped the placement of concrete in the dam. Manpower and material resources have been redistributed to other construction projects. At the end of January a conference at the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers pointed out that the work already carried out by experts is inadequate for drawing definitive conclusions. The project's many shortcomings along with the mistakes that have already been permitted by construction workers alone are clear. But how grave and irreversible would the anticipated ecological consequences be? That is what may decide the fate of the construction. Specialists believe that far more thorough research than first appeared is needed to provide the answers. How long is that going to take?

A way out has been found. The republic's Council of Ministers has made the following decision: We must await the results of the examination. Meanwhile all the requisite nature protection and backup work can be done. The highway construction that the republic is in acute need of at all events must also be continued. The 1989 resources released can be channeled into constructing sociocultural and consumer facilities in Svanetiya's Mestiyskiy Rayon, where all the damage caused by the winter before last has by no means been remedied. At the same time steps have been taken to speed up the work of protecting the Black Sea coast adjoining the Ingursk GES spillway.

All this will serve the health of nature, and healthy nature serves man even better—including his construction plans. But what if experts oppose the plans? The specialists are proposing options. One of them is to drastically reduce the height of the GES dam and correspondingly its influence on the natural environment. There will probably also be fresh options.... So long as we ensure that we don't pass judgment on them after the event.

Scientific

Official Details 'Phobos' Achievements

LD2202183989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Interview with "Phobos" deputy flight director Nikolay Sukhanov by unidentified correspondent; date, place not specified; recorded]

[Text] The "Phobos" interplanetary station has transmitted to earth television images of this moon of Mars. Our correspondent has interviewed Nikolay Georgiyevich Sukhanov, the spaceship's deputy flight director.

[Begin recording] [Sukhanov] It is pleasant to see what we have been aspiring to for more than 7 months now and toward which we will make further progress. These photographs were not really taken for their own sake, but in order to acccomplish navigational tasks. To be specific, our objective is to move as close to "Phobos" as possible, then to drift along its surface and release a long-term automatic station unto "Phobos."

[Correspondent] Before this flight, after all, we did not have an accurate idea of the orbit of "Phobos," and the tolerances were very large, in the tens of kilometers.

[Sukhanov] Yes, and by the nature of these measurements we are taking of "Phobos" with the help of these television stills, we can define more precisely the positions of the spacecraft and "Phobos" relative to one another. I want to call attention to the fact that "Phobos" is at the center of the photographic still. All in all, this is self-evident for a photographer who is making a portrait of someone, but it was not at all self-evident for us. The fact that it is at the center of the still shows that our ballistic and navigational calculations proved to be fairly correct. Such accuracy allows us to make good plans for the further course of the operation, and in particular, we propose to conduct a session analogous to today's on 28 February, when the conditions will be better for observation, as the distance to "Phobos" will be approximately three times less. For this reason, we will see "Phobos" itself as considerably larger, and the precision we achieve will be approximately three times greater. In addition, these photographs are probably of great scientific significance. Planetologists will, of course, study these photographs.

[Correspondent] This is a powerful and emotional moment, but tell me, please: What could you compare it with?

[Sukhanov] Today is truly a joyful day and probably, in its emotion, it could be compared with the point at which a mountaineer climbs a mountain; perhaps he is not at the summit yet, but he knows that he is close. You somehow begin to feel that this job can be completed now.

[Correspondent] Could you be compared with a sailor who has been on a long, long journey and now has seen the shore? He does not know what it is, but he can see it already?

[Sukhanov] Yes, we have seen the shore we must sail to. We now can see where we must go and we will devote all our strength to traveling this last section of the way successfully. [end recording]

'Mir' Crew Engage in Environmental Photography

LD2302104689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Flight control center reports: The crew of the "Mir" orbiting complex was occupied with medical research for the most part of the working day on 22 February. In the environmental program studies, photographing of individual regions of the earth's surface was carried out.

According to telemetric data and the report of the crew, the flight is proceeding according to schedule and the state of health of the cosmonauts is good. They feel well.

International Space Cooperation, Monitoring Urged

PM2202094589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by A. Dunayev, chief of the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology: "Earth Concerns for Space: The New Political Thinking and Technical Cooperation"]

[Text] Late last year the second Soviet-French space flight—which was substantially different from previous international expeditions launched from the Baykonur cosmodrome—came to an end. The point is not just that Soviet and French envoys worked at the station for approximately 1 month rather than just 1 week, as had been the case before, and that a foreign astronaut took part in complex work outside the station for the first time. The main point is that international cooperation in the conquest of near-earth space was further developed.

During the meeting in Moscow between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and French President F. Mitterrand on the day before the spacecraft launch, it was stressed that in pioneering long joint flights in near-earth space, the Soviet Union and France are making a marked contribution to organizing effective international cooperation. The hope was expressed that this flight would begin a new phase in development of relations between our countries.

But how can cooperation be better organized? This question has come to a head over the 20 years of cooperation between Soviet and foreign specialists in the sphere of creating space technology and the conquest and peaceful utilization of space.

In particular, talks have already been held at which further Soviet-French joint operations encompassing virtually all areas of space research, including manned flights, were discussed. The French side proposed making such flights once every 2 years. We agreed to discuss this question, but only on a mutually beneficial basis.

As for the financial side of the "Aragats" project, according to our estimates, the Soviet Union's expenditure has exceeded R20 million. France has compensated us for a considerable proportion of our expenditure by paying for the French apparatus delivered to the orbital complex, which Soviet cosmonauts will use in future.

This commissioning of apparatus has already become traditional. Let me recall that various Bulgarian scientific instruments; a GDR spectrometer; astrophysical instruments manufactured in the Netherlands, Britain, and the FRG; and a Czechoslovak photometer and "Kristallizator" technological unit; are still operating on

the complex. This international cooperation mutually enriches scientists from all the countries involved in the flight and helps develop national scientific schools and specializations.

Consistently developing international space cooperation, the Soviet Union has signed bilateral agreements on cooperation in the research and utilization of space for peaceful ends with France, Britain, Australia, Brazil, the United States, Austria, Italy, and India in the last 2 years alone. The USSR proposed launching foreign states' and international organizations' peaceful space apparatuses using Soviet booster rockets and has also confirmed its readiness to exchange its achievements in space with other states. Talks on this kind of cooperation are continuing. A treaty that developed a signed bilateral agreement was concluded in Vienna in November 1988 on carrying out a joint Soviet-Austrian spaceflight on a commercial basis in late 1991-early 1992.

An agreement has been signed with the U.S. firm "Payload Systems" to conduct experiments in 1989 on "Mir" to cultivate proteins to obtain new medicines.

Of course, the development of a new branch of science and technology that is so important for mankind and at the same time so costly requires the organization of international cooperation enabling the most effective use to be made of each country's achievements. Here the restrictions imposed by the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [COCOM] dating back to the bad times are clearly at variance with modern requirements. Thus, according to a statement by the president of the "Space Commercial Corporation" in Houston, export restrictions are impeding the implementation of a contract to launch a U.S. communications satellite using a Soviet "Proton" booster rocket. COCOM restrictions are being used [he said] to prevent us from shipping satellites and other onboard equipment onto USSR territory—even in sealed containers—to be put into orbit by Soviet launchers.

Attempts to use "strong-arm methods" to artificially retard the exchange of progressive technologies would appear particularly naive with regard to a country that can independently—without using Western technology—create such a high-tech system as the "Energiya"-"Buran" space rocket complex. Following the Soviet space shuttle's first successful flight, foreign specialists were forced to admit that their Soviet colleagues had successfully overcome the difficulties involved in creating "ideal materials, complex computer systems, and the appropriate software."

I think that abandoning the outmoded practice of prohibitions and switching to relations as equitable partners is equally beneficial to both sides. Thus, the new thinking that is winning an ever-increasing number of supporters in the world is being demonstrated in space exploration. In this situation the proposals on world cooperation in space made by M.S. Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly session resounded with particular force. There, in particular, the conversation turned to the creation of a UN emergency ecological aid center. It could hardly get by without space-based systems. Information-gathering satellite systems could be of great assistance in this matter. They should be combined with sophisticated meteorological and earth-resources technology satellite systems, which would be oriented to ecological tasks to a considerably greater extent than existing systems. In turn they can all be united into a single super-system for global information exchange and processing using earth-based and satellite systems.

Admittedly, at present a general concept for the construction of a global international system does not exist. But Soviet specialists believe that such a concept must in essence consist in organizing a purposeful improvement in space-based information-gathering and long-range forecasting systems within the framework of a single international program and pooling them into a single international ecological monitoring system.

The creation of a global monitoring system would necessitate considerable expenditure on scientific research, the elaboration of technical systems, and the development of new technologies in the sphere of space and information technology.

It should be borne in mind that some components that could be used in this system have already been created in the form of new-generation meteorological and earth resources technology space apparatus, both automated and manned. Thus, in 1991 we intend to dock a new specialized module onto the "Mir" orbital complex. In addition to the Soviet Union, five socialist countries and France are involved in creating the apparatus for it (the total weight is more than 3 tonnes). Cosmonauts in the new module will be engaged in studying the earth and the world's oceans, land, atmosphere, and the anthropogenetic effect on the environment. This is effectively the prototype of an international space laboratory surveying the state of nature.

Incidentally, in the future we can also and, I think, should switch to a qualitatively new level of cooperation. Cooperation now mainly consists in giving member countries information obained from space and also in national organizations' development of scientific apparatus. In the future specialists from various countries could begin joint activity at the stage of determining the scientific tasks for the next module and then all take part together in creating it.

This work could be carried out under the auspices of the World Space Organization as proposed at the UN rostrum. Taking into consideration all countries' interests, it could determine the paramount tasks for the utilization of space and the priority of developing specific projects on the basis of broad international cooperation. This organization would also monitor observance of a peaceful work regime in space.

It would be possible to create a system of international supervision of agreements preventing the extension of the arms race into space within the framework of the World Space Organization and utilize the technical systems the organization may have at its disposal or have leased from member states to this end. On the basis of a special agreement with the United Nations, a monitoring system could also be used to check the observance of other accords restricting and halting the arms race.

The USSR is open to cooperation with interested states, international organizations, and foreign firms in the study and utilization of space, including cooperation on a commercial basis. We proceed from the premise that business cooperation in space helps exploit the advantages of space exploration for the good of all mankind and serves as a factor for strengthening mutual understanding and mutual trust among peoples.

Public Rejects Secrecy on Nuclear Waste

PM2202092589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 89 p 2

[G. Mironova "Own Correspondent's Column": "Special Secrets"]

[Text] Khabarovsk—Some 50 km from Khabarovsk we turned into a forest. Then the road disappeared behind iron gates. "Bolshekhekhtsirskiy Reserve" was written on the sentry box. But this was the entry to a special burial ground. Radioactive waste is brought here in heavy iron trucks.

Our acquaintance with radiation is limited to primitive civil defense exercises, in which we are shown a bomb in cross section and the ulcers caused by radiation sickness. Consequently, we are always ready to fear high radiation levels, without actually knowing from where this radiation could "crash down" on us. But it could come "crashing down" from directly above our heads. A man in Khabarovsk, for example, knocked "something" down from the ceiling out of curiosity and proceeded to dismantle it in his workshop—thereby causing an incident, because it was a fire alarm containing an isotope.

Radioactive waste is not only sent for burial by institutes, plants, and hospitals but also by institutions very far removed from the "atom": cultural centers, sanatoria, libraries.... Instruments containing Cesium-137 can now be found in ordinary boiler rooms. It sometimes happens that anything up to 300 of these fire alarms are written off at the same time. They only respond sensitively when used correctly. That is why A.P. Yeniseyskaya, for example, who is head of a radiology department—the kind you find in any oblast or kray sanitation and epidemiology center—almost hates these isotope fire alarms. I, too, as the first honored visitor to the special burial ground, immediately found myself wondering: Isn't it possible to somehow avoid things like this? Fires are a danger, of course, but dangerous fire detectors are no better.

"They'll think of something," A.S. Tarasov, chief engineer of the enterprise concerned with the "dump," glumly reassured me, knowing that nothing else is on the horizon at present. Everything under his charge has its origins shrouded in deep secrecy. It is always easier when authorized personnel are the only people who understand these operations. Amateurs simply make life complicated with their naive questions, like the one I asked when confronted with a sign saying "Danger. Radioactive": "But why are radioactivity measuring devices not on sale in chemists' shops like thermometers?" Everyone was at great pains to explain things to me and I was allowed to handle more than 10 different instruments, in short supply, which radiation experts have worked hard to obtain from wherever possible. All this equipment is worth a fantastic amount of money. But of the equipment designed for individual use, only one instrument gave you a direct reading—this was some sort of tube registering dangerous doses. A cumbersome piece of equipment manufactured in 1953 was pronounced the most efficient and reliable. I had no choice but to believe I.V. Shteynikov, the senior radiation expert.

He calmly led us into a so-called contaminated zone. The needle registered the same 16 microroentgens per hour as in the city—the natural radiation background. Only, some radiation—invisible, silent, and intangible—had escaped through a small chink beneath a ferroconcrete slab. It amounted to 100 times the normal radiation background, even though the pill-sized radioactive elements are packed in lead and paraffin casings so thick that they weigh up to half a tonne.

Before Chernobyl, not a great deal of significance was attached to the situation with "things nuclear." That has now changed. Glasnost and democracy have freed the people in this respect also. They want to know everything and form their own, independent judgements.

There is now no greater topic of conversation in Khabarovsk Kray than the construction of the nuclear power plant included in the "Far East Program." It was included without the population's consent. The deputy minister of nuclear power generation, accompanied by an impressive group of specialists, flew here recently to explain the situation to people. But no discussion took place. At the meeting with the commission, the audience did not want to even hear its arguments: The monopoly of the department is over. The population has no wish to passively wait and see what "surprises" are served up by the power workers.

People have recently become disenchanted with the idea of remaining in blissful ignorance. They want to know about radiation levels in their city. They want to know what happens to dangerous waste. The public wants to know the sources of radiation and how dangerous this radiation is, and it is hard to ignore this today. One can

understand how irritating this persistence is to departmental officials: In the past they were able to do what they wanted—even going as far as building a "special burial ground" in the local nature reserve.

Military

Zaykov, Yazov, Baklanov Mark Military Anniversary

LD2202173489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] A festive meeting dedicated to the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and naval fleet was held in Moscow today. In the presidium are Comrades Zaykov, Yazov, and Baklanov; the leaders of a number of ministries and departments; military commanders; representatives of the party, local soviets, and public organizations; and war and labor veterans.

Those who gathered were addressed by Army General Lushev, USSR first deputy minister of defense. The process of restructuring is being extended and deepened in the Soviet Armed Forces, as throughout the whole country. The reorientation of military construction has been commenced.

General Yazov Gives Order for Army-Navy Day

PM2202193589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister's Order of the Day No 71, dated Moscow, 23 February 1989]

[Text] Comrades soldiers and sailors, sergeants and petty officers, warrant officers and ensigns, officers, generals, and admirals!

Comrade war, labor, and USSR Armed Forces veterans!

Today the Soviet people and their servicemen are marking the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. Shining examples of staunchness, selflessness, patriotism, internationalism, heroism, courage, and devotion to the Communist Party and the Soviet people on the part of all generations of valorous defenders of the socialist Fatherland are recorded for ever in the combat annals of our Armed Forces. Servicemen have again demonstrated their best qualities while discharging their international duty in the Republic of Afghanistan and during the elimination of the consequences of the accident at Chernobyl AES and the earthquakes in Armenia and Tajikistan.

Army and Navy servicemen are marking this holiday of the Soviet Union's working people in the atmosphere of the restructuring which is under way in the country. The course mapped out by the 27th CPSU Congress and developed by the 19th All-Union Party Conference is being consistently translated into reality. The switch from stagnation to revolutionary renewal and the unfettering of healthy forces in the economy and in politics have become a reality and our society's spiritual life is growing richer. Democratization and glasnost are gaining momentum and a program to enhance the prosperity and improve the life of Soviet people is being implemented. In conditions of radical reform of the political system the campaign for the election of USSR people's deputies, which is helping to rally all the forces on the platform of restructuring, is advancing in the country along a broad front.

On the basis of the new political thinking innovative approaches to key problems of international life have been elaborated and are being translated into practice. The threat to peace has been pushed back. This is being considerably assisted by the new initiatives of the Soviet state aimed at the radical improvement of international relations and by the USSR's decision on a unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces and armaments. We are taking our steps toward peace on the basis of sober calculations and well-weighed assessments in the hope that the United States and NATO will respond with equivalent actions.

In the Soviet Army and Navy, just like in the country as whole, the process of restructuring is broadening and deepening, a process which is based on the practical implementation of the new thinking in the sphere of the country's defense in accordance with the defensive character of the Soviet military doctrine. Positive processes are under way in military collectives, and an atmosphere of mutual respect, high exactingness, efficiency, and intolerance of shortcomings is becoming firmly established. A reorientation of military building has been initiated and the training of troops and naval forces is being geared predominantly to qualitative parameters.

Proceeding from the principle of defense sufficiency, the requisite level of combat readiness and combat capability of formations and units is being assured, and active work to reinforce discipline and regulation order is under way. In single combat formation with the armies of the fraternal socialist countries, the USSR Armed Forces are reliably guarding socialism, peace, and peoples' security.

Dear Comrades, I greet and contratulate you on the nationwide holiday—the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy!

I wish Army and Navy personnel further successes in combat and political training; mastering modern weapons and combat hardware; improving field, air, and naval training; and strengthening military discipline and law and order. I wish war, labor, and Armed Forces veterans and all the working people of the land of the Soviets good health and fruitful achievements in the interests of restructuring, the renewal of all aspects of society's life, and the strengthening of the prestige and might of our great Motherland, the USSR.

To mark the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy I order:

That a festive firework display take place today, 23 February 1989, at 2100 hours local time, in the capital of our motherland, the hero-city of Moscow; the union republic capitals; the hero-cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk; the hero-fortress of Brest; and also the cities of Kaliningrad, Lvov, Rostov-na-Donu, Kuybyshev, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Chita, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, and Severomorsk.

I express confidence that Army and Navy personnel, loyal to Lenin's behests, will discharge with honor the responsible task with which they have been entrusted—the task of ensuring the reliable defense of the security of the fatherland and of the historic gains of socialism.

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

Moiseyev Evaluates Military on Army-Navy Day

PM2202180189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by Army General M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister: "Standing Guard Over Peace and Socialism"]

[Text] Soviet Army and Navy Day is particularly notable for us all. The Soviet people and their army have a single destiny, a single biography. It is the destiny of the heroes of October and the defenders of its gains during the civil war and Great Patriotic War. It is the destiny of those who were the first to respond to the anguish of Chernobyl and Armenia, of those whom we have just ceremonially welcomed after the fulfillment of their international mission in Afghanistan. It is the destiny of those who today are vigilantly standing guard over peace and socialism, worthily continuing the tradition of courage and valor of their grandfathers and fathers.

The 71st anniversary of the Armed Forces is being celebrated in an atmosphere of unprecedented vigor on the part of all strata of our society. In March, through the will of the people and their servicemen, a congress of people's deputies will be formed, a new system of state organs will be set in motion, and the foundation will be laid for the implementation of the main aim of the political reform—full power to the Soviets. It will be a major milestone on the path of Soviet society's revolutionary renewal.

The development and improvement of the Armed Forces is a very important component of our defense building, whose effectiveness, as the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference stressed, should henceforth be ensured predominantly by qualitative parameters. This premise has the importance of a long-term program aimed primarily at the further improvement of the Armed Forces' equipment, military science, personnel, and structure. Each of these parameters, inseparable from the others, has at the same time its own entirely specific content depending on specific conditions of sociopolitical development, the international situation, and other factors.

Take the development of equipment. It is well-known that our country is now doing a particularly large amount to come closer to the ideal of socialism—a world without weapons and without wars. Many of its initiatives and practical steps in this direction have been welcomed with great approval in the world. The USSR's readiness for radical disarmament—including the renunciation of the status of a nuclear power, and its desire for a constructive search for ways out of the imbalances and asymmetries in arms and for the elaboration of the necessary verification measures—is meeting with increasing understanding and support. But we cannot fail to see also the unremitting resistance of the reactionary imperialist circles. That would mean underestimating the level of military danger existing as of now and its dimensions and nature.

Yes, in recent years confrontation in international relations has begun to give way to cooperation. But there has been no fundamental breakthrough in these relations. Military building in the NATO states is still being carried out along the lines of the premises of aggressive doctrines. In Europe and adjacent waters NATO keeps a grouping of over 3.6 million men in a state of high readiness. The imperialist countries' second most important grouping is deployed in the Pacific Ocean zone. Part of it, as is well-known, is in the immediate vicinity of the Soviet Far East. The existence of a military threat from imperialism is thus a fundamental issue. And the success in implementing the party's instructions on defense questions will depend largely on the nature of the public opinion over this issue. Yet in their published items some authors try to cast doubt on the reality of the military threat and on the correctness of the defense measures which are being taken.

Extremes in any matter are dangerous. Especially when it is a case of preserving peace and defending the country. Here it is particularly important to "keep our feet on the ground," as they say. The reality is that the United States, for instance, has not renounced and is not thinking of renouncing a single one of its military-technical programs. And it is talking of equipping its armed forces with weapons systems which would require that the Soviet Union spend several times more time and money for countermeasures. So here it is not a case of some "alleged military threat" to our country which some people believe has been thought up by the military, but it is an urgent need to seek new ways of ensuring the reliable defense of the Soviet people's peaceful labor.

This task is being resolved, as is well-known, while unswervingly observing the requirements of defensive military doctrine. It is within its framework and in strict

accordance with the principle of defense sufficiency that the Armed Forces' technical equipping is being carried out. Of course, we would like to use all our resources and economic and scientific and technical achievements solely for peaceful purposes. But for the time being I can merely stress yet again that everything happening today in the field of the technical equipping of the Army and Navy is entirely subordinated to a single aim—the defensive aim. Naturally, account is taken that it should be achieved with the least expenditure of forces and funds.

It is toward this goal that the restructuring in the Armed Forces' training is in fact aimed. The improvement of the qualitative indicators of arms and equipment inevitably gives rise to the need to improve the standard of the personnel's technical caliber. This in turn requires the further improvement of the material instruction base of the Army and Navy, not to mention the military educational establishments where the future officer should handle modern equipment and the most sophisticated training apparatus every day.

The improvement of equipment also presupposes the amplification of a number of propositions of military science. This applies above all to questions of military art. The standard of the technical equipment of the troops and naval forces has always predetermined changes in their combat formations and the depth and content of their tasks, forms of maneuver, and so forth. These changes have now acquired a different qualitative characteristic and have become broader. Our doctrine's defensive orientation requires that military science seek and comprehensively substantiate the most expedient methods, under modern conditions, of preparing and conducting combat operations on the ground, in the air, and at sea. The development of military art is now proceeding at such a pace that nearly all provisions of strategy, operational art, and tactics are undergoing radical changes.

The elaboration of a strategy to prevent war is one of the complex tasks of military science. Such a problem has never before arisen within our Armed Forces. There is a need for profound scientific research and elaboration of specific recommendations to command organs, troops, and naval forces. What we have to do is to generalize experience in implementing the provisions of the defensive military doctrine and to elaborate uniform views on methods of action to prevent aggression. At the same time, it is impossible not to mention that the military scientific organizations whose duty it is to provide the preliminary and in-depth theoretical elaboration of these questions often drag their feet. Specifically, one of the questions which has not been subjected to adequate theoretical elaboration is the question of the organization and conduct of combat actions of a defensive nature. And yet, proceeding from the well-known orientation of our doctrine, military science is primarily called upon to elaborate ways to repulse aggression. We are reminded of this by the bitter experience of the period just before and at the early stages of the Great Patriotic War.

Great importance in the elaboration of a modern theory of military building attaches to the restructuring of internal relations within military science itself, their democratization, and the establishment of an atmosphere of glasnost, free exchange of opinions, and businesslike criticism and self-criticism in scientific collectives. The main point is to decisively enhance the role of military science and research in the elaboration of long-term guidelines for the development of military art and the building and training of the Armed Forces, and to concentrate efforts on an in-depth analysis of the most typical aspects of armed struggle and of operations and combat actions at the initial stages of war. It is also important to ensure broad involvement of scientific research in the solution of tasks concerning the reduction of time taken to develop and test arms and military equipment and to create prototypes, complexes, and systems meeting contemporary demands.

I am probably not mistaken in saying that one of the most complex tasks facing us today is to ensure the qualitative parameters of the Armed Forces' structure demanded by the party. After all, we have now embarked on a qualitatively new stage of their building on the basis of new political thinking, defensive military doctrine, and stage-by-stage nuclear disarmament. Important steps have already been taken in this direction. They are primarily the conclusion of the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles between the USSR and the United States, our country's proposals on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, the elimination of chemical weapons, and the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces, and other peace-loving initiatives put forward by the Soviet state.

A unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces was announced from the high rostrum of the UN General Assembly's 43d session. This is not a simple mechanical, as it were, cutback of servicemen's numbers by 500,000 men and a reduction of arms by 10,000 tanks—half of which will be converted into traction units for the national economy—8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft. It is well-known that a reduction was also carried out in the late fifties, which was on an even greater scale. Now we are talking about restructuring the very backbone of the Armed Forces. Specifically, there will be a reduction in the number of military districts, armies, and divisions. Motorized rifle and tank divisions will be given a structure meeting the demands of fighting defensive battles. They will experience a 30-35 percent reduction in the number of tanks, artillery systems, and assault crossing means. But at the same time the quantity of antitank means and air defense means will increase by a factor of 1.5-2. In this way, our troop grouping in

Europe will on the whole be given a strictly defensive character. Furthermore, arms production in the USSR will be reduced by 19.5 percent.

In its recent statement the Warsaw Pact states' Defense Ministers Committee pointed out that the interests of European security demand immediate measures aimed at eliminating existing imbalances and asymmetries, substantially reducing the most dangerous offensive types of arms, achieving lower levels of armed forces, and restructuring the two alliances' military structures so as to make them strictly defensive. The committee expressed the hope that NATO countries will demonstrate readiness to advance along the path toward strengthening stability and security in Europe, including via unilateral measures to reduce their armed forces and armaments.

The defensive orientation of Soviet military doctrine and the forthcoming Armed Forces reductions make new demands of the Army's and Navy's combat readiness. The task is to constantly maintain it at the level of defense sufficiency with due consideration for the specific situation.

The paramount tasks also include the improvement of the command system of troops and naval forces and the enhancement of command efficiency, especially in view of the transition to a modern technical base taking defense requirements into account. The solution of this task is associated with better training of command organs, improved methods of staff work, and enhanced staff standards. This applies to troops, naval forces, and the General Staff alike. It is important to ensure consistent implementation of the principles of one-man command, democratic centralism, and the resolute eradication of bureaucratically formal leadership methods, red tape, and excessive paperwork which are still used in some command organs.

Improving command is unthinkable without the eradication of a habit which took root during the years of stagnation in the style of work of a certain section of command and political cadres. This is the habit of waiting for orders and instructions from above on any matter, of displaying lack of initiative. The practical implementation of the principle of personal responsibility by everyone for the work with which he has been entrusted is seen as one of the ways of eliminating this kind of phenomenon. The working mechanism here is glasnost, businesslike criticism and self-criticism, and intolerance toward abuse of official position, bureaucracy, total licence, and complacency.

Consequently, the upcoming years will mean special responsibility and much hard work for us. They will be a period of the implementation of major military-political and strategic decisions, of a radical reorganization of the Army and the Navy. The annouced reduction of the Armed Forces will begin within the current year. This work has many facets, it must be thoroughly planned, and the disbanding of combined units and units which are subject to reduction, the redistribution of funds, the echelonment of reserves, the organization of command, and so forth must be kept under constant supervision.

However, the main thing in these conditions is to maintain the requisite level of combat readiness of troops and fleets and their ability to rebut possible aggression. Soviet people may rest assured that their security will be guaranteed. In conditions of the reduction of the Armed Forces and the military budget we are doing everything, as demanded by the party, to guarantee high vigilance, efficient organization of combat standby duty, and maintenance of weapons and combat hardware in a constant state of readiness for combat use. This is the main sphere of our activity, and that includes the General Staff.

Currently we are receiving many proposals on how to organize the Armed Forces. They include quite a few that cannot be accepted because they fail to take account of what NATO countries are doing to improve their armies. At the same time, there are also many proposals which deserve attention. We are studying them carefully.

As is known, the defense of the socialist fatherland is a nationwide cause. The switch to qualitative parameters in defense building, especially in the sphere of military hardware and personnel training, calls for purposeful and intensive work on the part of scientists, designers, all those working in defense industry sectors, and military cadres, of course. However, in connection with the fact that a certain distortion of views respecting the Army and military service is taking place in the country and society, one of the most topical problems today is the preparation of the younger generation in schools, the family, and enterprises and educational establishments alike. Great responsibility in this respect falls on party, soviet, and social organizations at local level. The preparation of our young men for service is our common concern.

The contribution of the Armed Forces to the solution of complex national economic tasks is known. Tasks such as the construction of the Baykal-Amur Railroad, for instance. Currently, with the active participation of servicemen, roads are being built in the RSFSR Non-Chernozem zone. Thus the Army does not just guard the Soviet people's peaceful labor, it is also an active builder and participant in the national economic and economic process.

Service in the Armed Forces is a school of life, courage, honor, patriotism, and internationalism. Joint military labor brings together and unites servicemen of various nationalities and helps them to strengthen and enhance combat readiness. Special responsibility for the high quality of training and education of personnel falls on officers as active bearers of the policy of the party in the Armed Forces. Today they are acting as organizers and leaders of the restructuring in the Army and the Navy.

The patriotic endeavors of Soviet servicemen are reflected in facts. Over the last 5 years alone more than 190 thousand people have been awarded orders and medals. Hundreds of thousands of young men have set examples of heroism and courage while performing their international duty in Afghanistan. One in four has received a state award and more than 60 have been decorated with the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Today a great deal is changing in the life of the Army and the Navy. At the same time, we must not ignore the fact that restructuring has still not encompassed all the spheres of the building and training of the Armed Forces. Old methods and ways of acting have not been overcome, not everyone has a deep understanding of the essence of restructuring which ensues from the principles of the modern military doctrine. Many superior staff are still supplanting organizational work with a multitude of conferences and ineffective checks. And, most importantly, restructuring has had little impact on grassroots components, especially battalions and companies, where combat skills are being forged and where the character of the defender of the motherland is tempered. The burden of obsolete views and methods of work is paralyzing people's initiative and preventing them from spreading their wings. Developing and deepening restructuring means resolutely putting an end to these phenomena, switching the building and training of the Armed Forces to qualitative parameters in practice, improving combat and mobilization readiness, and identifying reserves in the organization of operational and combat training and in the reinforcement of discipline and order.

The entire history of the Soviet Armed Forces is a history of devoted, selfless service to our socialist motherland. Their battle banners are covered in legendary glory. It is beyond doubt that during the crucial stage of history the Soviet Armed Forces will again prove worthy of their great people, part of whose flesh and blood they are.

Belousov Cites Peaceful Use of Defense Factories

LD2202121189 Moscow TASS in English 1137 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—In 1988 a total of 345 munitions factories were involved in the output of technological equipment for light and food industry enterprises in the USSR. Some enterprises, still on drawing boards, were re-oriented for the output of civilian products. As many as 205 leading research institutions and design offices engaged in developing military hardware were re-assigned to design equipment for the Soviet agri-industrial complex, Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, writes in an article in the newspaper GOVERNMENT HERALD published on February 22.

The article says that presently collective and state farms receive from the defence complex tractors, water sprinklers and fertilizer spreaders. Enterprises of the Ministry of the Aviation Industry started production of machines for tilling land, micro motor mowers, feed grinders, water pumps and other machines.

Belousov states that in 1988-1995 the output of equipment for the processing industries of the agri-industrial complex, including deliveries from the CMEA countries, will top 37 billion roubles, including 17.5 billion roubles from defence enterprises. Whereas in 1987 enterprises of the light and food industries as well as ministries of the defence complex produced 865 million roubles worth of technological equipment for the agri-industrial complex, in 1988 the defence industries produced for it 1,029 million roubles of equipment. In 1995 it will produce such technology for 3.8 billion roubles or 4.4 times more than in 1987.

In all, 4,500 types of new technology for the processing industries will be produced in the eight-year period, more than 3,000 of the total will be put out by the defence complex," Igor Belousov writes.